

**THE CHALLENGE OF CREATING SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES FOR
LARGE SCALE URBAN REGENERATION PROJECTS: EXPLORING DIFFERENT
EXPERIENCES IN MAJOR EUROPEAN CITIES**

By

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ABSTRACT

This research investigates what type of actors and organisations are involved in achieving the goal of providing more sustainable high quality urban regeneration in England. The research draws on three key strands of literature including sustainable urban development, development processes and governance. The research gap is where these three strands come together.

The thesis explores these issues through the use of case studies in Hafencity (Hamburg) and 22@ (Barcelona) alongside consideration of major projects in England.

The main findings of the research show that the continental case studies place stronger emphasis on proactive public sector management of projects (*'positive planning'*) than would normally be the case in England. The public sector is able to lead the projects for reasons including land ownership, the planning system, skills in the planning department, use of a local development agency and a more positive and collaborative approach between the public and private sectors involving the appropriate use of power, partnerships and networks.

This approach permits greater emphasis to be placed on long term / sustainability issues and helps to balance public interest and private sector gain, both of which could be of interest in the context of achieving more sustainable urban regeneration in England.

DEDICATION

To my parents, Peter and Carmen, who have always supported me and my education.
Without you this, or any of my achievements, would have been impossible.

To Elena and Nicolas, your love gives me absolutely all the motivation and support that I
need.

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CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

England is moving slowly towards the production of sustainable urban regeneration and is trying to locate more mixed use, high quality development in brownfield locations. (Cullingworth & Nadin, 2006; Calcutt, 2007). In recent years planning policies have become increasingly focused in trying to achieve this objective and have forced many organisations to change their behaviour and their practices. It is argued, however, that while much progress is being made, little sign of any considerable change in the way our cities are constructed is in evidence (Calcutt, 2007; Hall, 2014). The development industry in England is dominated by large housebuilders/developers that focus on their bottom line ensuring they minimise losses and maximise financial gains. Due to their scale they have created a system where they can operate on a national or at least regional basis and produce developments that are almost identical wherever they are located in the country (Adams, 2004).

The problem with this approach is that much of the development created in England is monotone and lacks innovation (Barlow, 1999, Hall, 2014). It does not seek to deal with the issues that are of concern in modern society and instead provides us with urban environments that lack vibrancy, interest or safety. Sustainability, understood here as the ability of a development to address the three core pillars of economic social and environmental sustainability is often questioned. Developers place much of the blame on the planning system because they believe that it exposes them to unacceptable levels of risk which they seek to minimise as quickly as possible (Adams, 2004; Adams & Tiesdell, 2013). This development situation in England results in developers that are highly focused on entering the development cycle and then exiting as soon as possible. Many development companies are not interested in the long terms results that they produce. They are focused

on selling quantity rather than quality and will only move into innovation if they are forced to by legislation (Hall, 2014).

Urban regeneration has been a core objective in the English planning system since the publication of the Urban Task Force Report in 1999 where it was highlighted that towns and cities in the UK should use a sequential approach to land use and a stronger emphasis should be placed on urban design issues to ensure a more sustainable future. Additionally, the report highlighted that brownfield land should be the focus for growth and through the use of the sequential approach more brownfield land should be brought back into active use. From this point onwards sustainability and urban regeneration have been closely connected and have been seen as compatible objectives. Particular emphasis in this research will be placed on understanding how the delivery of large scale sustainable urban regeneration can be improved as opposed to just considering sustainable development in a more general sense.

This approach raises questions about how large scale sustainable urban regeneration might be encouraged in England. How can this type of development be produced if there are a number of key variables that are acting against the introduction of good quality/variety of design, mixed uses and the provision of appropriate infrastructure in the English development industry? More specifically it also raises the issue of what type of development processes might be employed to deliver sustainable urban development as well as what type of organisations and individuals should be involved. It also raises the question of whether other nations are encountering the same problems in delivering sustainable urban regeneration and, if not, how experience from these foreign countries can help us to understand how this type of development can be delivered more successfully and comprehensively.

These issues connect closely to my urban planning interests and are linked to my previous experience of working in academia and a professional environment both in the UK and elsewhere. The fact that international comparison is used in this research helps to ensure that I will be able to draw on previous experiences of urbanism in the UK and abroad as well as use my language skills to interview key actors within the development process.

1.1 The Knowledge Gap

Sustainable urban regeneration therefore remains the objective of national planning policy in England (Cullingworth & Nadin, 2006) but as yet has failed to materialise to a large degree (Hall, 2014). Planning policies during the late 1990s and 2000s have forced developers to think differently about urban areas and brownfield land especially and this focus has brought investment back into city centre locations (Urban Task Force, 1999). While this has created developments that are more sustainable in terms of the mixture of uses they can accommodate or the higher density living arrangements they have produced, large scale sustainable urban regeneration has yet to fully flourish in England (Calcutt, 2007; Hall, 2014). Why this is the case is difficult to establish but one area that needs more research is the type of development processes that are required for such developments.

While sustainable urban regeneration has been studied significantly (Naess, 2001; Winston, 2009; Raco, 2003a; Crouch, 2003a; Fraser et al, 2003, Rydin, 2010) including the viability of projects, the difficulty of bringing brownfield land back into active use, the problems associated with existing local communities and how they can be included in the process. Despite this wide array of work, however, the way in which such ideas are placed on the ground and implemented has been studied much less and although there have been some recent additions to the debate (Hall, 2014; Adams & Tiesdell, 2013) even these do not focus specifically on the questions this thesis aims to answer such as: What are the most appropriate development processes to achieve sustainable urban regeneration? What type

of actors ought to be involved? What management/governance arrangements need to be in place? What is the best setup in terms of land ownership and other key issues? What can be learnt from specific projects abroad? How could these lessons be applied in England? This gap in knowledge is where this research aims to provide new insights. This gap represents a vital piece of knowledge. It is important because it provides the inner workings of sustainable urban regeneration. While the ingredients for this type of development are known (mixed use, etc), we should explore more about how they can be delivered successfully in England and Europe.

1.2 Deepening Understanding

One way in which our understanding of this situation can be deepened is through looking at examples where innovation towards sustainable urban regeneration has occurred. Examples of this can found especially in continental Europe where a different approach to urban planning and urbanism can be found (Hall, 2014). Such examples provide us with clues as to how large scale urban developments can be created more sustainably. Not only do they provide a physical example of what can be achieved they also help us to realise the deficiencies of the standard type of developments that are normally produced. The focus here is to gain an understanding about why these developments came forward and who was involved. It involves discovering what is necessary to enable these developments and how this situation could be created elsewhere. To do this, however, a number of different elements of key importance need to be explored.

The first of these elements is sustainability and how European planning systems incorporate sustainability into their policy frameworks. Planning systems are an important consideration because they provide much of the approach towards development both at a national and a local level. Despite increased international co-operation and supra-structural organisations like the European Union, the member states continue to have different types of planning

system which often reflect the differing legal, social and cultural backgrounds (Nadin & Stead, 2009). Planning systems are also often a reflection of the wider political situation of the country and how the balance between private and public interests is achieved.

A further difficulty with regard to sustainability is its general definition. Definitions vary considerably and this can lead to confusion and misinterpretation (Naess, 2000). For the purposes of this research, however, sustainability will be taken as being the three pillars of economic, social and environmental sustainability (Goodland, 1995) and as such focus on the wider view of sustainability rather than just a few elements. This is discussed in more detail in chapter 2.

The second element is the development process and the differing models produced in different countries. These models highlight the variety of actors that are involved and the importance of their role and how their role can vary. Development processes are often difficult to map because they are unique but the models have, over time, become more flexible in order to allow an overall assessment (Healey, 1991). In this particular case we are interested in sustainable urban development processes such as finance, construction and planning processes that are important in creating sustainable environments (Rydin, 2010).

The third element that needs to be considered is based on urban governance. Urban governance is an essential element in understanding the way in which development comes forward and moves away from the idea of a government system which is purely reactive (Beauregard, 1996; Stoker, 1995; Stone, 1989). Urban governance seeks to be more entrepreneurial and tries to diffuse the line between private and public interests (Pierre, 1999). Urban governance recognises the difficulties of providing services for the local community through only public channels.

Urban governance is connected with a number of different theories which include partnerships, power and power relationships, networks and urban regimes. All of these theories provide an interesting perspective of urban governance but equally all have their strengths and weaknesses. For the purposes of this work, partnerships, power relations and networks are the basis by which the work will be structured, while urban regimes will be discarded. A framework provided by Coaffee & Healey (2003) is used to help bring these differing theories together and helps to provide an overall structure to the analytical framework. The reasons for these choices relate to the fact that to understand development processes it is important to understand the intricate links between people, institutions and organisations and the influence they have over each other. By focusing on partnerships, power relations, and networks we will be able to gain insight into how the development processes for sustainable urban development really work and what is really required to get this type of development on the ground.

1.3 The Way Forward

This research will seek to understand the development processes behind examples of sustainable urban regeneration that exist in reality and examine how these developments came. Examples of such projects are limited in England and for this reason the search was extended to Europe. In the end, two comprehensive projects from the continent were chosen as well as an overview of projects from England. The limited projects from England will provide the basis from which problems and issues with the current development processes will be identified, while the examples from abroad will provide *inspiration* about how the processes could potentially be improved. This approach will provide a strong impression of the problems being faced in England at the moment with regard to delivering sustainable urban development while at the same time give an indication of how the situation can be improved through learning from more successful examples.

As the research is being carried out from an English perspective, England will represent the recipient nation, while the other European countries will be the donors. Janssen-Jansen et al. (2008) highlights that where cross-national research is being carried out there are different ways in which the new knowledge can be brought back to the recipient country. It highlights that in many cases actual policy transfer can be very difficult between nation states because of the differing contexts within which the policy has been developed. For that reason they suggest that learning and inspiration may be more appropriate in some situations. This is the approach that will be taken here but policy transfer will be considered if the context is appropriate.

Each of the case studies will be assessed with regard to the social, economic and political situation in which they operate. This will include creating an understanding of how the relevant planning system operates and how this influenced the interaction between the various players involved. Actors, networks and power relationships will also be considered because they represent an important element of development processes. To understand development processes associated with successful sustainable urban development we must consider these important elements. It is vital that these variables are taken into account so as to ensure that a full picture is created.

The case study projects will be used to highlight what can be learned by policy makers in England about encouraging sustainable urban development in the future. The focus of the project is to create an understanding of what type of development process can bring forward sustainable urban development, the type of organisations that might be involved, the nature of their involvement and the relationship between the actors.

1.4 Research Questions

Research questions form a critical element to any research project. The main questions for this project are outlined below. As will be apparent, the questions focus on how the development process shapes and interacts with the creation of sustainable urban development.

Main question: How do the development processes operate differentially in a variety of European contexts and how does this influence sustainable urban development practices?

The main focus of this research is to consider the development processes that have been used to create sustainable urban regeneration around Europe. Differing development processes are likely to be in operation in different European countries and the aim is to look at these to get an understanding as to how they are different from each other as well as different to development processes that characterise other more standard developments.

Sub-question 1: What network arrangements and partnerships have been utilised to bring development forward?

In order to understand the development processes involved in the creation of sustainable urban regeneration it is important to gain an understanding of the networks and partnerships involved. Partnerships and networks form an important part of the theory of governance and therefore need to be considered.

Sub-question 2: What type of actors were involved and what were the power relationships between them?

There is a range of different actors that can be involved in development processes. The type of actors that are involved, and more specifically the internal philosophy of these actors and the power relationships between them are likely to have important role in determining exactly what is achieved on the ground. For this reason it is important to consider the power relationships between the key actors to gain an understanding about the decision making processes within each case study situation.

Sub-question 3: What can be learnt from the development processes used abroad to create sustainable urban development and how can they be applied, if at all, in England?

One of the key aims of this research is to create an understanding of development processes that have brought sustainable urban development forward. By considering examples from different European countries the possibility to learn about new methods and processes presents itself. This research aims to consider the processes that are taken from abroad and how they could potentially be applied in England. England represents the recipient country for this research and as such any lessons that are learnt will be brought back and given consideration as to whether they can be taken forward in the English context.

It should be highlighted here that while it could be argued that sub-questions 1 and 2 cover similar ground, there is a specific difference between the two that is of importance for this research. The first sub-question refers specifically to networks and partnerships which will provide an overview of which actors are connected with which organisations or other individuals and the type of agreements (public, private or mixture) between them. The second sub-question focuses more specifically on the power relations between these actors as this can have a strong bearing on what and how projects are taken forward. In other

words, the first sub-question is more focused on the visible links between people and organisations while the second is concerned with the 'darker forces of power' used in planning.

1.5 Methodology

The methodology of this research revolves around a number of key areas. The first is that the research is a cross-national comparative study because of the case study examples in continental Europe that have been shown to be well ahead in their approach (Hall, 2014). Cross-national studies are not a new concept within the planning field (Marshall, 2000) and have been undertaken in many different areas of planning research (Masser, 1986). The nature of comparing across national boundaries does, however, add complications to the research process because the number of variables increases dramatically in comparison with domestic research. Social phenomena are heavily influenced by the economic, social and political environment in which they are located so comparison of projects in different nation states can be difficult. In order to combat these drawbacks, the research design for the project needs to be developed so as to ensure that a cross-national comparison is possible. Case studies were therefore used in this project to look at the different large scale sustainable urban regeneration projects around Europe.

The two comprehensive examples from the continent are Hafencity (Hamburg) and 22@ (Barcelona). The nature of large scale sustainable urban regeneration projects is that they represent a unique approach to urban development and an example of how these developments have been developed in the nation state in question and as such the manner and nature in which these projects have been developed is interesting for research.

Due to the limited number of case studies the methodology of the research was qualitative rather than quantitative. Semi-structured interviews were carried out with approximately 20

key actors involved in each case study. The interviews lasted 1.5 hours and were recorded (when possible), transcribed and when necessary translated. The actors were sourced either directly or through contacts with other actors. The type and nature of the actors that were interviewed are outlined in chapter 5 and included local authorities, developers, landowners, architects and community groups.

1.6 Structure of Thesis

The structure of this research is set out in two main parts. The first is a literature review of the relevant research that has been conducted in areas connected to the research topic. The second section includes the international case studies which represent the primary research element of this piece of work.

The first literature review chapter focuses on how sustainable urban regeneration represents an important policy objective for international, national and local governments. It outlines the origins of sustainable urban regeneration and how this has been incorporated into planning policy objectives.

The next chapter highlights the importance of development processes in the creation of sustainable urban regeneration and considers a number of different development process models that have been outlined in academic literature.

The third literature review chapter represents the theoretical basis for the project. It reviews a number of theories related to urban governance such as power relations, partnerships, networks, urban regimes and collaborative planning and concludes with the identification of the analytical framework that provides the assumptions on which this research will be taken forward.

The next chapter provides the research questions, analytical framework and methodology for this research. The research questions focus on the research gaps that have been identified in the literature review and the analytical framework provides the structure within which the research will be conducted. The methodology highlights the research design which for this research will focus around case studies as well as the data collection methods.

The first case study chapter focuses on Hafencity that is currently being constructed in the former docklands area of Hamburg. It represents one of the biggest regeneration projects currently underway in Europe and covers approximately 157 hectares. The objective of the vision and strategy for the Hafencity area is to provide a mixture of uses including residential (5,800 units), commercial, retail and leisure.

The second case study is 22@, a sustainable urban regeneration project located in a former industrial area of Barcelona called Poblenou. The name of the project was derived from the previous industrial designation of the land which was 22a (industrial land). 22@ is located in the south-eastern quadrant of the city and represents an important regeneration project for Barcelona both in terms of attracting businesses to the city but also in converting what was a previous industrial area that included a wide variety of obsolete and disused industrial buildings into a new sustainable area which will include business, housing, education and leisure uses.

The third case study chapter provides an overview of the issues connected with bringing forward sustainable urban regeneration in England. Rather than choosing a specific project, a variety of different developments are covered as well as an appreciation of all the problems and barriers that exist in terms of implementing large scale sustainable urban regeneration in England.

The penultimate chapter is where the case studies will be assessed from an English perspective and as such England will represent the recipient country and the other European countries the donors. The assessment will revolve around what can be learnt from the research undertaken in the two European countries and to what extent the approached used in these countries can be transferred or transplanted to England or whether the knowledge gained needs to remain inspiration.

The conclusion will provide an overview of the main findings of the research as well as highlighting any further areas of investigation that could be useful in advancing the prospect of creating more sustainable urban regeneration in the England.

CHAPTER 2 - SUSTAINABLE URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND THE ENGLISH PLANNING SYSTEM

In order to start the research process it is necessary to consider the wider context surrounding the key issues of this thesis. This includes preparing a literature review that helps to bring forward previous knowledge and research so as to establish a baseline. This chapter represents the first of the three literature review chapters.

Sustainability and sustainable urban development have become the main focus for many planning systems yet confusion still surrounds these ideas and how they can be translated into practice. This chapter will look at the origins of these ideas, highlighting the pillars of sustainability and how they have been introduced into planning policy. The chapter will provide the background knowledge about the planning policy framework with regard to sustainable urban regeneration projects. It will highlight the approaches of different national governments to this issue and in doing so will help to frame the wider focus of this research about positive planning and sustainable development processes.

2.1 Sustainability and Sustainable Urban Development

Sustainability

Sustainability remains an idea that can only be defined in very general terms. The most famous of the definitions is that connected with the Brundtland report, Our Common Future, which defines sustainable development as *“meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”* (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987, p. 8). Sustainability is considered to include three

main pillars: economic sustainability, environmental sustainability and social sustainability. It is worth explaining these quickly and how they relate to sustainable urban development.

The idea of *economic sustainability* in the most traditional of senses has been in connection with “*maintaining capital*” (Goodland, 1995). For the purposes of this work, however, we need to consider the idea of economic sustainability and its connection to the planning system. Economic sustainability is closely linked to concepts such as natural capital. This implies that environmental issues need to be seen in a new economic sphere. Natural capital needs to be considered in the planning process and projects need to demonstrate that they have taken environmental impacts seriously to the point of factoring them into the overall viability of projects. This, in turn, will make environmental projects which have proactively sought to reduce impacts seem immediately more viable than before (Goodland, 1995).

This approach has two consequences for sustainable urban development. The first is that projects need to be assessed carefully with regard to their viability and whether the project itself is a realistic business proposal. Secondly, development projects must be more aware of the impacts that they may cause to the local community and at a wider global level as well. This requires a new approach to development visioning together with a new set of skills to ensure that the full implications and impacts of a development are understood but also that any potential mitigation measures are known and thought about using a long term approach.

Environmental sustainability revolves around the maintenance of natural capital (Goodland, 1995). In particular, this involves looking at source and sink functions and ensuring that these are kept at levels that are acceptable and can be maintained over the long term. Source and sink functions are all natural resources such as air and water for the former and

pollution and waste for the latter. If the levels of source and sink functions are kept at a reasonable level then environmental sustainability could be achievable.

Environmental sustainability has strong connections with the planning system and city regeneration. Although originally created to tackle issues of health in the inner cities, planning has moved to become one of the main protectors of the environment, seeking to minimise impacts wherever possible (Cullingworth & Nadin, 2006). Sustainability and sustainable development are now at the core of many planning systems although on the ground results sometimes leave room for improvement. Beyond the themes addressed above and importance of natural capital, the day to day working of the planning system and how it interacts with the economic sphere have not changed (Goodland, 1995).

Social sustainability can be connected to the wider debate of the overlapping issues of social capital, social cohesion and social inclusion (Bramley et al, 2009; Polese and Stren, 2000; Chiu, 2003; and Yiftachel and Hedgecock, 1993). The issues connected with social sustainability can be related to urban land use planning and planning has a role to play in helping to implement this objective. Issues such as access to local shops and public transport need to be one of the core concerns of urban planning. The connection between social sustainability and urban form is of particular interest in this case and has been explored by a number of different researchers. Indeed, Jenks et al (1996) note the relationship between sustainability and urban form as being *“one of the most hotly debated issues on the international environmental agenda.”* Bramley et al (2009) is one of those that have looked at the connection between urban form and social sustainability and contends that it needs to be considered more, especially since the publication of the Sustainable Communities Plan (ODPM, 2003) and “Designing for Social Sustainability” (HCA, 2011).

Sustainable Urban Development

The concept of sustainable urban development applies the ideas of sustainable development to urban areas. This approach has had a substantial influence on planning thinking and has brought forward models such as the compact city. The compact city is considered by some to be a more sustainable way of building cities. There are many definitions of a compact city but in general terms it is deemed to be a city which demonstrates higher densities and a mixture of uses supported by public transport networks and other services (Burton, 2000).

The compact city idea has evolved in light of the vast amounts of suburbia that have been built in most developed countries in the past few decades. The compact city is an attempt to regain a more compact urban model found in older areas of cities where density is believed to bring a number of important benefits that can not be created with suburban environments (Burton, 2000). The main qualities that are cited include the following:

1. High residential and employment densities
2. Mixture of land uses
3. Fine grain of land uses
4. Increased social and economic interactions
5. Contiguous development
6. Contained urban development, demarcated by legible limits
7. Urban infrastructure, especially sewerage and water mains
8. Multimodal transportation
9. High degrees of accessibility
10. High degrees of street connectivity
11. High degree of impervious surface coverage
12. Low open space ratio
13. Unitary control of planning of land development
14. Sufficient government fiscal capacity to finance urban facilities and infrastructure

Table 2.1 – Compact City Qualities (Newman, 2005)

The process of the compact city is to focus development in existing urban areas especially on previously developed land thereby increasing the overall density of the built environment (Urban Task Force, 1999). This is an approach that many countries have now adopted in their national planning policies but there are those who question whether the concept of the compact city really provides the benefits that others suggest. Some (Neuman, 2005) highlight that the compact city is a knee-jerk reaction to suburban development and that returning to the idea of a compact city is to ignore planning history where planning was originally created to help solve issues of over-crowding and poor health in inner city areas.

Other critics of the compact city model (Burton, 2000) suggest that densification of the urban environment leads to restricted access to green open spaces and overcrowding in urban environments. Over and beyond these two main concerns there is also criticism that there is a lack of empirical evidence to show that the benefits of the compact city really exist. Indeed, Burton (2000) explores the connections between social equity and the compact city and her conclusions are far from conclusive. She also highlights that there are many who question the ability of compact cities to reduce commuting distances and car use.

Neuman (2005) also highlights the differing opinions about the positive effects of the compact city model. In particular, he questions the use of density as the primary variable in many research papers and suggests that the use of this variable to describe a complex entity such as a city oversimplifies the issue and does not represent the true nature of an urban environment. Newman (2005) believes that a more complex set of criteria or variables needs to be used to fully understand the benefits and drawbacks of the compact city model.

Despite these differing concerns about the compact city model, it remains the dominant approach towards city building in areas of growth. Continental European cities represent good examples of the compact city approach partly because their historical layout has been

developed using a similar approach of high densities and use of good quality public transport but also because the active management of these cities has been able to ensure that sprawl is limited and that new sustainable communities are established.

2.2 Sustainable Urban Regeneration and Brownfield Development

Sustainable Urban Regeneration

Urban regeneration in the English context came to the forefront of planning thinking during the late 1980s and 1990s. The downturn in manufacturing in the preceding decades had left many industrial businesses in financial ruin (Dorling, 2004) and the sites where these businesses had been located were now seen as the ideal way in which to create an urban renaissance. These sites were located centrally and therefore could be redeveloped and at the same time reinforce the importance of the city while promoting sustainability through the compact city approach. Urban regeneration has since become one of the main ways in which growth is accommodated in England especially as planning policy increasingly started to implement the sequential rule in term of site designations.

The idea of urban regeneration draws heavily from the concept of the compact city. As with compact cities there is an emphasis on re-use of inner city brownfield land, higher urban density, better urban design quality and sustainability which is achieved through a mixture of uses that allow people to have easy access to many different amenities (Winston, 2009). European cities are taken as the role model where streets with both pedestrians and vehicles are considered the best option for urban mobility and security (Graffron, 2005). Proponents of this idea include Lord Richard Rogers who helped develop UK government policy in his taskforce report *“Towards and Urban Renaissance”* (1999) which drew many lessons from the way Barcelona had been managed during the early 90s. Indeed, continental European cities are considered leaders in the way in which they have brought

forward sustainable urban regeneration (Hall, 2014) and this leads to questions as to why more success can be found on the continent than in England.

Urban regeneration has become increasingly important with governments specifically driving development towards these type of sites to avoid use of greenfield land. One of the main problems with urban regeneration is that the majority of projects that have been undertaken have had an economic focus rather than an environmental one (Winston, 2009). The very nature of the brownfield sites means that they have been used for a different, often industrial, use for a considerable amount of time and therefore are more difficult to make viable. Developers have needed to look carefully at these sites to ensure that all the upfront costs are retrievable down the line. This economic focus has been taken through to the development of the site where environmental issues have been sidelined in comparison with other more monetary concerns (Raco, 2003a; Crouch, 2003a; Fraser et al, 2003).

Another issue of concern within the field of urban regeneration is the decision of whether to demolish existing urban environments or to refurbish them. In many cases local authorities opt for the former rather than the latter, yet research suggests that this is not always the best option (Winston, 2009). Indeed, Fraser (2003) highlights that since the 1970's it has been recognised that social problems, in particular, can not be solved by only providing new physical environments. Worpole (2003) and others also note that the social fabric that exists in established communities needs to be considered carefully within the regeneration process so that support mechanisms are not removed from those who need them most.

There are signs that the regeneration process is taking these issues on board and there is an increasing focus for regeneration schemes to be high density, mixed use schemes that focus on refurbishment rather than demolition which, in turn, provides a more environmental approach (Winston, 2009). The community aspects of urban regeneration have until recently

been neglected in the research field but it is clear that a purely physical approach is often inappropriate and can lead to further problems later such as re-occurring demolition (Winston, 2009).

Brownfield Development

The real push towards brownfield development came with the election of the New Labour government in 1997 which wanted to push most investment back into inner city areas to regenerate areas that had been neglected. Brownfield sites became the focus of much interest and for many it represented a win-win situation where social ills and design issues were dealt with at the same time (Raco & Henderson, 2006). In reality, however, brownfield development was not always the panacea for all urban troubles. It has been found that the track record for developing brownfield sites has been erratic over the years and that even though the principle of developing previously used sites may be positive the outcomes are not always beneficial (Raco & Henderson, 2006).

The tensions of developing brownfield sites are often exposed at the outset. Although many brownfield sites are designated as derelict or unused, they often hold other social or environmental characteristics that limit development. While these characteristics are not immediately identifiable as valuable in economic terms, they represent valuable assets to the local communities that live around them (Ball, 2002) (Greenberg & Lewis, 2000). Indeed, many urban brownfield sites have a high level of biodiversity because they have not been used for a considerable number of years. The value of this biodiversity may not be seen by the developer seeking permission for the site but to local people this may be an important asset for their neighbourhood (McIlvenna, 2002). The picture of developer against community should, however, not be overused as this is a somewhat simplified vision. It should, however, be noted that those with interests in a brownfield site can often use the

rhetoric of sustainable development to cover the wider concerns of developing a specific site (Harvey, 1996).

The impact of developing brownfield sites is not so clear-cut. Although inward investment is seen as a positive in general, it sometimes does not have the intended impact of helping the surrounding area to improve both socially and economically. Much brownfield regeneration has focused on the economics of the site and success has been seen in terms of whether a new use is able to establish itself in the brownfield location. The benefits, instead of 'trickling down' to the local community, have remained with the few and therefore the question of whether many brownfield regeneration schemes have been successful remains in doubt (Robson, 2002; Lees 2003). Indeed, the impacts can in some cases be more negative than positive with many schemes causing additional traffic and associated pollution. Gentrification of the local area can also cause issues as rent rises and poorer sections of the community are forced out of an area that they consider to be their home and community (Robson, 2002).

Another key issue with regard to the erratic nature of brownfield development is the fact that different areas have different approaches and requirements for brownfield redevelopment. Some areas which are desperate for inward investment are willing to overlook social and environmental concerns in order to secure the inward investment (Bramley & Lambert, 2002). Others are less willing to do so. This creates a situation where the planning demands placed on developers can vary considerably from location to location.

Much of the discussion about brownfield development has become connected with the idea of sustainable urban development in general (Raco & Henderson, 2006). Even so, development on brownfield land has its own specific issues and constraints. Brownfield development can involve a wide range of organisations including local authorities,

developers, local interest groups or pressure groups and development agencies that help to assemble and bring land to market that otherwise would be difficult (Adams & Tiesdell, 2013). The very nature of bringing a brownfield site back into use is more complex than developing greenfield land and the strategy proposed by the New Labour government, which aimed to accommodate 60% (this figure has since been revised by the coalition government) of new housing on brownfield land shows (DETR, 2000) the extent to which the government thought it necessary to use and benefit from this resource. The issue of brownfield land can be thought of as a failed market. The land is of value but the costs and the perceived risks seem high to potential investors. Much of the task surrounding brownfield land therefore revolved around the idea of changing perceptions within the development industry while at the same time highlighting that planning policy would be restricting development in other locations.

The idea of the design-led approach that incorporates social ideals and focuses development on brownfield land epitomises the New Labour philosophy towards cities. Important considerations remain however, and this revolves primarily around how it is possible to achieve truly sustainable development on brownfield sites (Raco & Henderson, 2006). As mentioned above, the complexity of brownfield locations and the number of actors involved means it can be challenging. The key in this case, is gaining an understanding of the development processes that promote and can achieve high quality sustainable urban development.

2.3 Sustainability in the English Planning System

Sustainability and the role of the Planner

As sustainability became more of a priority in urban environments, the difficulty of how the planning profession can balance the differing interests of sustainability has become more

apparent. Planners often find themselves in the centre of an ideological conflict with the decisions they need to make (Campbell, 1996). The planning system and the people that operate it are essentially in existence to deal with conflict situations and to resolve these conflicts in an organised manner (Cullingworth et al, 2006). The planning system remains an important point of reference for conflict resolution between opposing groups of interests. Indeed, in the context of sustainable development, this position becomes increasingly difficult (Campbell, 1996).

It is argued that the planning process should ideally make decisions that place an importance on all three pillars of sustainability. Campbell (1996) creates the idea of a triangle of interests in which the planner should be centre stage protecting and supporting the idea of sustainable development.

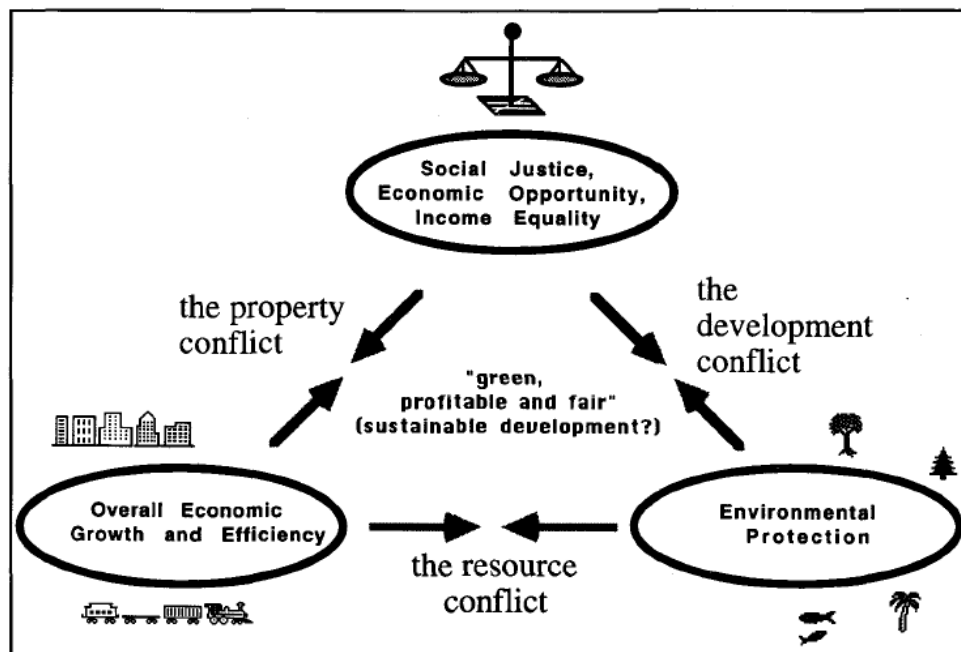


Figure 2.1: The conflicts in planning (Campbell, 1996)

Campbell notes that the planner is in a difficult position and questions whether this position is tenable. The idea of sustainable development has made the world of the planner much more complex.

The Building Blocks of the English Planning System

The English planning system could be understood as unique among the other planning systems in Europe (Newman & Thornley, 1996). It has evolved from the system of common law in the UK and is therefore based on the idea of case law in which the concept of precedent is a key consideration in making a legal decision. The first comprehensive planning laws were created with the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act and although this has now been superseded by more recent legislation many of the original ideas have remained intact. An overview of the system can be seen in Figure 2.2 below:

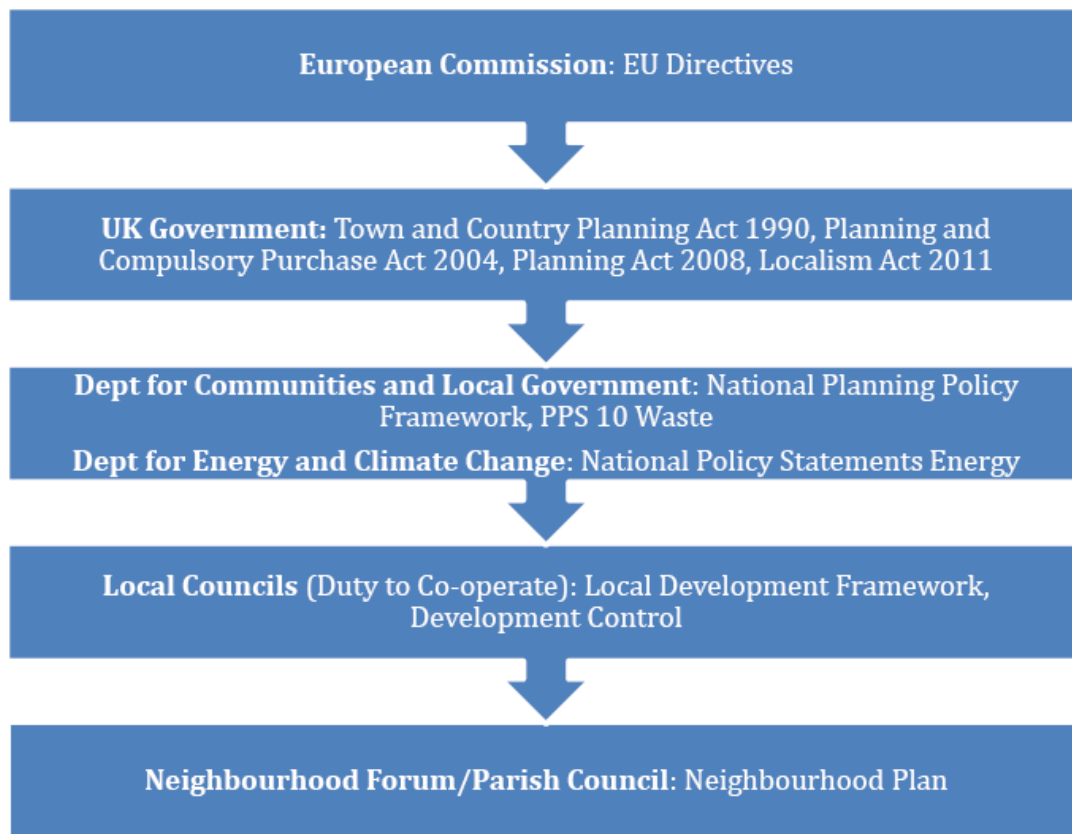


Figure 2.2: The main policy elements of the English planning system (Friends of the Earth, 2012)

The planning system in England can be understood to contain three main elements. These include, development plans, development control/management and central government supervision all of which are focused toward achieving sustainable urban development (Hall, 2014).

Development plans are created at the local level and represent the aspirations of the local authority in terms of future land use of their particular area and are also increasingly focused on the principles of sustainable development. These plans are produced independently from central government although they can be called-in if they are considered controversial or represent a planning vision that runs contrary to national guidelines. Until recently, these

plans came in the form of a structure plan that was produced at county level and a local plan that was produced at district level. Some metropolitan areas combined these two documents to create a unitary development plan. Since then a new system has been implemented which requires that local authorities produce a set of local plans. The plans, as opposed to other countries, are however only advisory which means that while they give a good idea of what type of development may be acceptable they are not rigid. All the documents are obliged through central government control and supervision to promote issues of sustainability and sustainable urban development which has a direct impact on development control.

In the area of development control there is increasingly discussions about issues of sustainability and how developments can minimise their impact on the surrounding area. This is often achieved through planning obligations or planning gain which requires the applicant to enter into a legal agreement which guarantees that a financial contribution and/or specific alterations will be made at a later date (Cullingworth & Nadin, 2006).

The English planning system can be characterised as flexible which, in contrast to other systems in Europe, allows decisions to be made on their own merits rather than with regard to a specific number of strict rules. Development plans must be taken into consideration when making a planning decision but 'other material considerations' including central government planning policy must also be considered. The implication of this and the additional appeal system means that central government retains a strong influence over planning decisions (Hall, 2014).

Role of Central Government

The administration of the planning system also differs in England to other European countries. It is only Ireland that has a similar approach. The system is based on a hierarchy

in which power is held firmly by central government and where local authorities are seen as providers of services to local communities. The relative strength of central government has changed over time but in comparison to other systems in Europe, central government retains a key role in directing planning thinking. The fact that the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) is produced by central government and represents a material consideration in all planning decisions implies that a quick change of approach at national level can be immediately incorporated into planning decision made at the local level.

This approach means that planning policy can be altered quickly if the planning philosophy changes. On the other hand, the fact that central government is so strong means that local government is restricted and undermined in governing its local area. Indeed, even though planning officers work in a system that allows discretion, this discretion is highly limited because in many cases central government has a high level of control in terms of the planning decisions (Cullingworth & Nadin, 2006).

The Planning System and Development Corporations/Agencies

The issue of planning has always been a balance between economic, environmental and social issues. In the 1980s the government wanted to use market forces to shape urban development and the planning system was seen as a barrier to this aim. The UK government wanted to give developers freedom to ensure that any development that could take place was not restricted especially in areas such as the London Docklands (Imrie & Thomas, 1999).

The emphasis placed on economic aspects of development (i.e. maximum profit through physical construction projects) were at the expense of social elements such as community facilities and infrastructure. The Conservative administration at that time believed that the planning system should not be concerned with social issues and that these issues should

be dealt with through other means (Carmona, 2009). Much was made of the 'trickle down effect' which implied that development would naturally support local people.

While the Conservatives believed they were able to deal with the social issues through this 'trickle down' mechanism, environmental issues such as reducing pollution and fossil fuel use proved more difficult. By promoting the free market and economic development, planning barriers were lowered to let developers create their visions. This raised an important concern for those living in affluent leafy areas of the country many of whom were traditional Conservative supporters but resisted the idea of new development in their area. This presented a dilemma to the administration who clearly wanted to appease both interest groups. For this reason during the 1980s a dual planning system evolved (Carmona, 2009), one which provided a high level of protection through designations such as green belt, areas of outstanding natural beauty or national parks but at the same time provided many opportunities for development outside these areas.

Over and above the relative weakness of the planning system at the time, the Thatcher government also engaged in a number of experiments that were designed to further enhance the power of the market. These experiments were wide ranging and not all were successful. The most notable of these were the Urban Development Corporations (UDCs) 11 of which were set up around the country (Carmona, 2009). Other successes included Enterprise Zones where planning and tax barriers were relaxed and Simplified Planning Zones (SPZs) where local authorities were allowed to simplify their planning policy to promote development in their area. It was the development corporations, however, that had the most influence. Most of these organisations were located close to key areas of growth and therefore helped to direct development. Many of these areas were previous industrial zones that had long since fallen into disrepair and were in need of regeneration. Urban development corporations were created because they effectively took on the responsibility

of regenerating the local area with only a small amount of responsibility retained by the local authority. The difference between the urban development corporations and local authorities was that the UDCs were not democratically elected bodies and many of the central government appointed board members were from the local business community which naturally favoured the economic growth of the local area (Imrie & Thomas, 1999).

Urban development corporations were given a wide variety of planning powers and were directly in charge of most strategic planning applications in their local area. Local authorities had very little power to intervene in the decision making process that was undertaken by the UDC (Raco, 2005). One of the main objectives in the creation of UDCs was to bring power back to central government. Local authorities retained the power to produce a development plan and, in theory, all decisions made by the UDC needed to be in accordance with that plan. In reality, however, more attention was paid to the development briefs produced by the UDC than the development plan. UDC finances and budgets were controlled directly by central government creating a situation where local authorities and communities were left with less power than previously. UDCs together with central government held the power to create and deliver large scale development (Raco, 2005). Over and above the planning powers, UDCs had powers to enable development which included the ability to acquire and assemble land which would then be sold on to private developers. They also had powers to buy public land from other authorities. This gave UDCs financial benefits as they could often acquire land at low cost, re-designate the land and then sell it on for a higher price (Imrie & Thomas, 1999).

UDCs and their approach to development have received much criticism. This is due to a number of reasons but mainly focuses on the fact that UDCs produced development that worked in accordance with the market but neglected other aspects of successful urban regeneration (Raco, 2005). In particular, there were many questions about the coverage of

UDCs and how their limited geographical scope meant that some areas were regenerated while others outside the UDC boundaries were not. Another criticism involved the issue of the 'trickle down effect' that for some never materialised. A number of different monitoring exercises were undertaken to see if local communities benefited from the regeneration that occurred in the UDC areas but it was found that only limited benefits were apparent (Audit Commission, 1989). Other research also highlighted the limited involvement of the local community in the decision making processes and that voluntary sectors and the local authorities should be more involved in the future (Robson et al, 1994).

The introduction of the 1991 Planning and Compensation Act gave hope to many that a new dawn had arrived and that the new emphasis on the plan-led system would provide local authorities and their communities with more power to decide about development proposals in their area. The strength of power, however, remained with central government because 'other material considerations' meant that central government policy would always prevail. Even though development plans were given more importance they were always limited in their scope by guidance from central government, meaning that while there was more power at local level it was given only if policies at the local level were in accordance with policies at national level.

The removal of much of the planning system in the 1980s was in line with the philosophy of the Conservative government of reducing red tape and giving freedom to the market. The effects of this were that local communities were not able to express their opinions about how their neighbourhoods were changing and had limited political representation because UDCs had taken control and were not democratically elected bodies. The arrival of the Labour government in 1997 marked another important turning point in the approach to planning where cities and their communities were put centre stage and development corporations were no longer used.

Role of Local Authorities and Positive Planning

Local authorities in England are given no special protection in law and often find themselves following central government guidelines that limit their ability to make autonomous decisions. This is in stark contrast to many other European countries where local authorities have a higher level of independence where central government only intervenes when national interests are at stake. The English administrative system has been described as a dual system (Leemans, 1970) where central government takes a supervisory role ensuring that local authorities respond in a certain way. This relationship between central and local government has also been described as an agency model (Stoker, 1991) where local authorities act as agents for central government and all policies created at the national level are created with this distinct model in mind.

The separation between central and local government does not just run in policy and financial areas. There is also very little movement of professionals or politicians between these two levels which further emphasises the differences between the two. Again, this is different to systems abroad where in many cases politicians rise through the ranks of local government to then progress into politics at a national level (Newman & Thornley, 1996).

Overall, the legal and administrative system in England is distinct to that which operates in other countries. These facts have an impact on the way the planning system functions. When looking at different planning systems an understanding that they all work within a specific cultural, economic and social environment is vital. In England, most power is held by central government and decisions that are made at the national level can be adopted at the local level almost immediately. The flexibility of the English planning system allows this to occur relatively easily but while this could be considered a strength there are weaknesses as well. This includes the argument that the English planning system is very efficient at

restricting development but not so efficient at encouraging it in places where development is needed (Hall, 2014). Adams & Tiesdell (2013) highlight this lack of '*positive planning*', where local authorities are unable to enable development or bring forward development sites that developers might be interested in. Equally, the English planning system is often characterised as one of conflict between the applicant and the authority. This is particularly the case when an appeal is lodged and lawyers are called in to defend their respective sides (Newman & Thornley, 1996). *Positive planning* therefore represents an important issue in how sustainable urban regeneration might be brought forward more convincingly and help to avoid such conflict situations.

These considerations have an impact on the way in which urban regeneration development projects are brought forward in England. The nature of brownfield locations means that sites are often in multiple ownership which in turn makes bringing forward development more difficult than in greenfield locations. The reactionary manner of the English planning system does not help facilitate the redevelopment process. Although not strictly necessary, issues of land ownership need to be resolved before an application can be submitted and as such this can be a major barrier to development coming forward.

The Structural Reasons for Lack of Positive Planning

The arrival of the conservative government in 1979 marked an important turning point in British politics. The newly elected government had a new approach to many different aspects of national policy which included a different approach to developing cities. The 70s and 80s were a time when the industrial economic landscape suffered and levels of unemployment were high especially in major urban areas (Lawless, 1991). This meant that many factories and other manufacturing premises occupying key city centre locations became vacant and were in need of regeneration.

The Thatcher government decided that the best way to deal with these problems was to unleash the power of the market and remove as much red tape as possible. This, of course, had huge implications for the planning system but rather than totally revamp the planning legislation, incremental changes were made that slowly undermined the strength of the planning system (Newman & Thornley, 1996).

The arrival of the Thatcher government signalled a complete re-orientation of perspective compared to the previous government. The welfare state was seen as cumbersome and unable to deal with the requirements of the late 20th century. The government firmly believed that opening up to the market held many benefits and could improve efficiency. This new perspective was translated into many areas of national policy but also into the arena of planning. As has been explored previously, the British planning system is highly flexible and can be adapted easily to new approaches. The new market orientation of the Thatcher government could therefore quickly be incorporated into planning policy at national level and as such forced local authorities to change their approaches as well.

The political project in the 1980s can be understood to contain two key elements. Firstly, a commitment to neo-liberal economics in which the market is seen as the best way in which to distribute resources and secondly, an authoritarian approach to government where local structures were seen as weak and powerless and in need of guidance from the centre. (Newman & Thornley, 1996) The combination of these two characteristics has been termed 'authoritarian decentralisation' (Thornley, 1993) where local authorities are taken further and further away from many decision making processes which are then decentralised to the market place.

Throughout the 1980s local authorities were undermined by central government. This started with financial restrictions but then became more comprehensive towards the end of

the decade where local government was restructured to diminish its power. This included removing many metropolitan authorities including the Greater London Council most of which were under Labour control who were promoting policies that ran against the ideology being put forward by the Conservatives. In addition to this, the government started to create a wide variety of quangos that were responsible for a range of issues (Skelcher & Stewart, 1993). The quangos took over many responsibilities that were up until then being dealt with by local authorities. Quangos, however, are not democratically elected and therefore represented a good solution to avoid political debate.

Other ways in which local authorities were weakened included the issue of the 'right to buy'. Previous governments had created a wealth of social housing that had been built directly by the government and therefore continued to be controlled by the local authorities. In line with many other policies Thatcher wanted to privatise these dwellings so that responsibility was handed to the owner rather than being retained by the government. The 'right to buy' option allowed the government to sell many properties to the people who were currently occupying them but in doing so also reduced the power and influence of the local authority.

Local authorities were seen by central government as unfit to make decisions and take responsibilities. For this reason the government advocated that local authorities should outsource all functions that were not absolutely necessary. This, once again, fitted the philosophy of the government where a strong belief was held that the free market was the best arena in which to solve problems (Ridely, 1988).

All of these factors added up to a situation where England had become a land of neo-liberal economics by the 1990s. Local authorities were deemed ill equipped to deal with the modern day economy and were given only limited powers. In a context such as this the idea of positive planning is hard to implement because it puts forward the exact opposite.

The election of the Labour government in 1997 served as a beacon of light for those who disagreed with the neo-liberal approach brought forward by Thatcher. Despite this new found hope that planning may once more be controlled through government and that the free market could be reigned in, the approach taken by Labour was of a 'third way' which was neither politically right nor left. Instead, it was a middle ground which hoped to make the best of both worlds. The end result for planning, however, was that power remained in the private sector and positive planning, despite the extra powers given to local authorities, was not given the opportunity to develop. This approach has been taken forward by the coalition government as well and despite the use of "localism" rhetoric, the pattern with regard to power has remained the same (Lord & Tewdwr-Jones, 2014).

2.4 Conclusion

This literature review provides an overview of the issues related to sustainable urban development. Sustainability and sustainable urban development are not easily defined or achieved, yet there is much initiative at work and sustainability has become a priority for many governments. This chapter has focused on the English context and the difficulties it faces. From this we can glean an understanding not only about sustainability but also how the planning system and the market is trying to move towards a sustainable future.

As we have seen from the discussion about the different planning approaches during the 80s and 90s, planning can take on different forms, sometimes allowing market forces to act without restraint and in other situations forcing them to adhere to policies that protect the structure and form of cities and towns. The English planning system is well known for being able to protect sensitive environments such as sites of special scientific interest, listed buildings, conservation area etc, and it remains relatively unique in the way that it operates through a flexible system of being plan-led yet where other material considerations need to

be considered. For some this represents the strength of the planning system in England. Where the English planning system is weaker is understanding the development and construction industry market and in particular creating '*positive planning*' and working in partnership with development companies to create sustainable solutions. Much of the debate that occurs during the planning process in England is conflictory in nature, where each side seeks to achieve a sense of victory.

The idea of '*positive planning*' therefore represents an opportunity and the benefits that can be achieved by having local authorities adopt such an approach ought to be explored. There are planning authorities who already work hand in hand with the development industry and produce planning guidance for sites that for all intents and purposes act as development briefs but the details of this approach and in particular the development process associated with sustainable development needs further investigation and it is this that will be the focus for the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3 - THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

The previous chapter has provided an overview of the English planning system and the approach towards sustainable brownfield development. It raises important questions about how sustainable urban regeneration can be achieved in England and the importance of understanding development processes associated with high quality urban regeneration projects so as to promote higher rates of success in the future.

Chapter 2 highlighted the importance of considering '*positive planning*' as a way to bring development forward and in doing so focus on the way in which planning can, above all, enable development rather than just control it. These issues are at the heart of what this research is focusing on but in order to understand the possible benefits of '*positive planning*' it is vital to understand the mechanics of the development process and how this process operates. This chapter will therefore quickly review the theoretical elements of development processes in order to help create an understanding of their complex nature and then focus on the key steps in any sustainable development process before addressing the key actors/stakeholders and how planning does and can influence these steps.

3.1 The development process models

Many different conceptualisations of the development process have evolved in recent decades, each looking to represent the process in a more accurate way (Adams & Tiesdell, 2013). The first models used a descriptive approach or flow charts but these did not take into account the relationships that were formed between key actors. Since that point the models have evolved to incorporate more of the social elements that are key to the economic activity of developing land. The four main categories of models include: equilibrium models, event-sequence models, agency models and structure models (Healey,

1991; Adams & Tiesdell, 2013). The table below provides a more detailed description of each.

Equilibrium Models	Reflect the neo-classical economist's concern with balancing supply and demand for new development
Event sequence models	Seek to specify the various stages of a development project and identify the order in which they take place
Agency models	Focus on actors in the development process, the role they play and the interests which guide their strategies. Some of these highlight how different actors cluster around different events in the development process.
Structure models	Derive from urban political economy and try to identify the driving forces which power the development process.

Table 3.1 – The different development process models (adapted from Adams & Tiesdell, 2013)

The first three are based on neo-classical economic theory which highlights the importance and freedom of the individual actor to act in their best interests. The fourth model is based on Marxist principles where emphasis is placed on how markets are structured because of the power relations of land, capital and labour. The institutional model was added by Healey (1992) which tried to be all inclusive but was criticised by Hooper (1992) and Ball (1998) as an impossible task. More recently there has been more discussion of network models which have been developed by Rydin (2010) among others.

3.2 Understanding the key elements of the sustainable development process

Both Adams & Tiesdell (2013) and Rydin (2010) highlight the importance of the development process in connection with the delivery of sustainable urban development. Adams & Tiesdell (2013) have developed a model which takes its influence from the event

sequence model and helps to identify all the various stages of the development process but does not specifically highlight issues connected with sustainability. This can be seen in Figure 3.1 below.

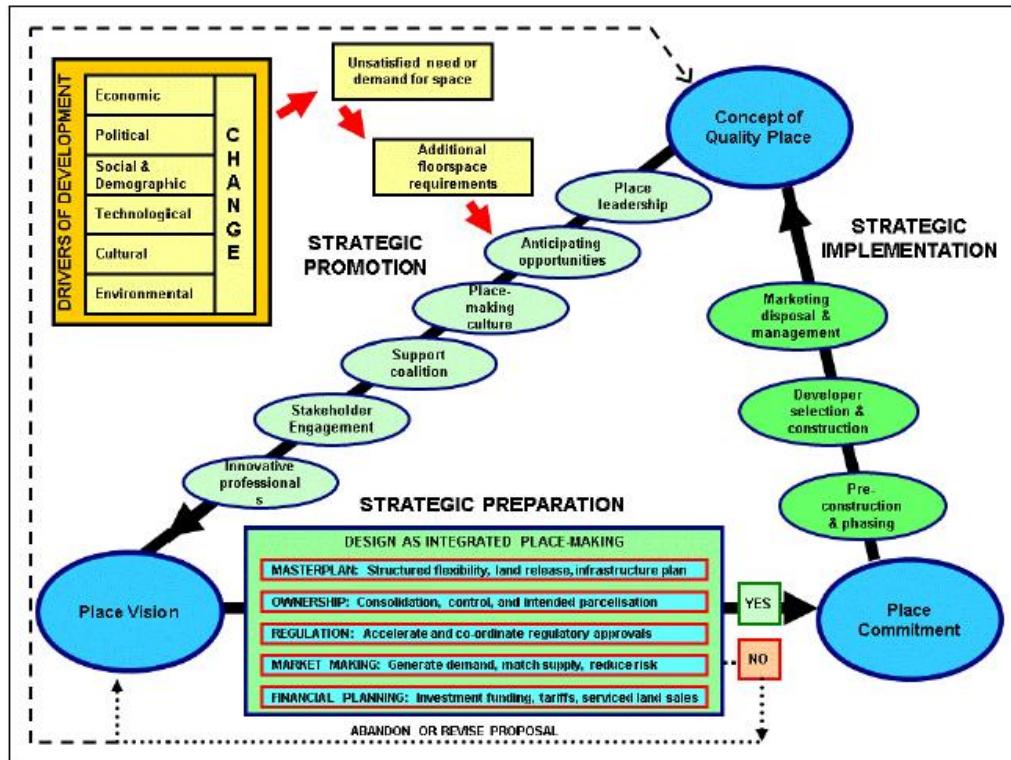


Figure 3.1 - The event sequence of a development process (Adams & Tiesdell, 2013)

Rydin, on the other hand, puts forward three distinct stages of the sustainable development process:

- 1) Finance and Exchange Processes
- 2) Planning and Regulatory Processes
- 3) Construction Processes

(Adapted from Rydin, 2010, p. 32)

Rydin (2010) highlights how these three stages deal with the issue of sustainability and how sustainability has changed the way in which development moves forward. These different stages will now be considered in more depth, exploring in particular their connection with the production of sustainable development and as such providing the background information about how actors in the development process must work within an established context that has considerable influence in the way in which actors deal with each other.

The advent of sustainable urban development adds a new dimension to the debate about development processes. Traditional development aims have been largely economic in their approach but this is slowly changing as development companies start to consider social and environmental issues when they make development proposals. This means that developers are starting to consider sustainability more seriously within the development process and are making an effort to try and balance the economics, environmental impact and social implications of the developments they propose.

This section will look at the three key stages of the development process as outlined by Rydin (2010) and consider the issues that are involved in dealing with a sustainable development process. This overview will provide more detail about the intricacies of the development process. Financial, planning and construction processes will be explored and these will be discussed within the specific reference to sustainability and the creation of sustainable urban development.

Financial processes

It is clear that finance plays a key part in whether development projects go forward or not. The availability of finance is in constant flux and can be provided or withdrawn at relatively short notice. The economic difficulties in the late 2000s in the world economy have shown that when financial markets become constrained this can have a major impact on the

construction and development industry and also on the wider public who are in need of credit.

In considering the financial aspects of the development process it is important to make a distinction between construction profits and development profits (Rydin, 2010). The former represents a situation where a company constructs a building and then sells it for a higher price than the components that were used to make it. The components can include physical materials such as wood and concrete but also the work force that was used to build the structure. In reality, buildings are rarely built directly by an individual construction company, they are more often created through a combination of contracts with sub-contractors who are employed to undertake a specific part of the building. This in turn, reduces the risk for the main company as they do not have to employ people directly. The latter is profits that have been created through an entrepreneurial activity where the private developer identifies a development opportunity and in doing so buys land for a future use. The profits in this case are derived from the fact that the developer is expecting a rise in the land value of the site. Rises in land value can come through various means. On the one hand, a rise in value can come about through simple economic growth or it can be specifically related to the redesignation of a site by the planning authority (Adams & Tiesdell, 2013).

Construction costs and profits also come into play but as opposed to the previous scenario they are not the main consideration especially as not all development companies decide to take on the responsibility of construction. Indeed, it is often the specific time and opportunity to buy land at a good price that is vital in ensuring that development profits are created. Buying land at a bargain price is therefore often the key objective for many development companies (Hall, 2014).

The difference between these two different types of profit is significant because of the importance of land in the development process. Development companies can operate in different ways. In some cases they take on the role of development company and constructor but in others they will purely be working to raise the value of their asset (land). The importance of land in creating development profits places the landowner in a powerful position (Hall, 2014). Landowners can come in many different forms including farmers who own land at the periphery of a town, individual home owners, banks or local authorities with land holdings. Development companies often approach these individuals or organisations and attempt to secure development rights by placing an option on land that they think is likely to be released for development but in some cases the owner may wish to remain involved in the process by becoming a development partner and thereby gaining from any increase in land value (Adams & Tiesdell, 2013). It is the power that the landowner holds which gives scope to many organisations to influence the outcome of the development proposal. This is of special interest to organisations which have a sustainable objective in mind (Adams & Tiesdell, 2013).

Turning to ideas of sustainability, it is important to highlight that financial institutions are beginning to think about sustainability in connection with their investments in property (Pivo & McNamara, 2005). This, of course, needs to be seen in the context of an industry where sustainability is still struggling to get into the main stream. Indeed, much decision making continues to follow old lines of thinking with important development assets being upgraded with energy intensive cooling and heating systems. (Rydin, 2010)

Organisations with long term interests in developments are advancing the most in terms of sustainability because it is in their interest to do so. Short term thinking such as that in speculative property investment is the polar opposite to this approach. It is interesting to note that much of the residential housing in the UK is created through a speculative

approach where houses are constructed thinking in the short term. This makes the ideas of sustainability much more difficult to incorporate because the developer does not have a long term interest in reducing natural resource costs (Adams & Tiesdell, 2013).

Overall, it could be argued that progress towards financing sustainable developments is being made but this progress is limited. This limitation is both in scale and dimension. Not only is a lot more movement required from financial institutions to support sustainable developments, there is also a need to recognise the wider issues of sustainability. While environmental sustainability is becoming increasingly easy to understand and incorporate into current thinking through technical know-how and a growing range of sustainability products, social sustainability remains unknown to many in the development sector (Rydin, 2010).

Planning processes

Planning regulation can fluctuate from more strict control to a more relaxed approach where market forces are given more space to manoeuvre. Planning processes can involve many different actors and interested parties and are complex in themselves (Rydin, 2010).

Placing all sustainability objectives on the planning system is likely to lead to failure but nevertheless the planning system does represent an important tool in shaping the urban environment and in particular encouraging sustainability through specific channels (Rydin, 2010). In many ways the planning system represents an arena for negotiation where developers and planning officials can sound each other out. Through the process each party can get a feeling about how much their opposite number wishes the development to go ahead. In areas with high unemployment and low inward investment planners may be more relaxed with their requirements. On the other hand, areas with strong growth may be more

demanding, forcing the developer to incorporate aspects into their development that reduce the overall profitability of the development (Rydin, 2010).

All major developments need to go through the planning process and some that are particularly important have to be assessed in terms of their environmental impact by an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA). This requirement was initially imposed through a European Directive but is now seen as an integral part of the planning system. Its approach is to bring together a wide range of assessments that are then collated and considered as a whole (Glasson et al, 2012). The issues covered can include visual impact, noise, water use and drainage, traffic and air pollution, all of which are compiled and then assessed to determine whether there is an important environmental consideration that needs to be mitigated. EIAs have been a planning requirement for major developments since the late 1980s but these are now increasingly being accompanied by an SIA (Social Impact Assessment) which provides details about the socio-economic impact of the development in question. However, It is not only development proposals that are being assessed for their sustainability credentials, planning policy such as Area Action Plans (AAPs) and Supplementary Planning Documents (SPDs) are also being assessed through SEAs (Strategic Environmental Assessments). SEAs work much like EIAs but they consider the sustainability of a policy approach instead of a physical proposal (Glasson et al, 2012).

Government planning policy at national level (the National Planning Policy Framework) highlights the importance of sustainability related to many different issues. This means that local planning authorities need to adjust their policies accordingly and include sustainable policies in their LDFs (Local Development Frameworks). Planning policy is also intrinsically linked to other issues that are also of importance in achieving sustainable outcomes such as barometers of sustainable performance. These come in many guises but both zero-carbon

developments and the Code for Sustainable Homes (CLG, 2006) are being used by many as a way of assessing the sustainability of a project (Hall, 2014).

These demands for higher levels of sustainability in residential development need to be seen in the wider context of sustainable objectives. The codes are useful tools but they remain orientated towards the technological approach to solving sustainable issues. Sustainability is a wider issue that encompasses global, local, technological, economic, environmental and social concerns. To think of sustainability as a checklist is to miss the point. The complexity of sustainability is that such checklists are often insufficient and while they can help to create understanding and a basis for communication, the planning system needs to consider sustainability in its entirety (Adams & Tiesdell, 2013).

Other than the standard planning processes there is also an opportunity for the planning process to shape markets and steer development in a sustainable direction (Adams & Tiesdell, 2013). Much planning in England is focused around reacting to private sector proposals and in doing so forcing the applicant to adopt more sustainable approaches through tools such as planning gain and planning obligations. While this approach is common in England it is not necessarily the best way in which to encourage sustainable urban development and there are continental examples which demonstrate that public sector leadership in this domain can be useful. Planning has the ability to shape markets and encourage very specific types of development if the development process is publicly managed and it is this management of markets that can prove extremely powerful in achieving sustainable outcomes.

Construction Processes

The development industry represents an important barometer of the economy as a whole. In most western economies the development industry is a key area of employment and is therefore extremely important to the wider health of the national economy (Ruddock 2002).

Development can come in many different forms ranging from a small self-build project to a major redevelopment of a town centre or infrastructure project such as a rail link. The scale of projects is also reflected in the types of organisations that are contracted to undertake the work. These can vary from small family businesses to large scale engineering companies or speculative house builders. The sector is characterised as having a few very large companies but also a high number of small companies (Rydin, 2010) because it is often easy to start a small business in the refurbishment niche of the market. The variety of different sizes of business can often be useful especially to the larger companies who often seek to sub-contract work to smaller organisations partly because this avoids them taking on new staff and therefore reduces the likelihood of redundancies which often have financial implications. Like many industries, therefore, the development sector works in a network format, with many large companies winning contracts, parts of which are eventually handed down to smaller companies who specialise in a certain area of work.

A further distinction should be made about the projects that are undertaken by the construction sector which is that there are two main methods by which a project can be initiated. Tombesi (2006) highlights these as being:

- 1) Projects that are begun to satisfy a demand in the market
- 2) Projects that are begun by a client who has a specific development brief

The difference between these two types of project is substantial. On the one hand the projects that are begun to satisfy a demand in the market have to be initiated by the construction or development company themselves. For this reason these projects are called speculative projects. The best example of speculative projects are those that are started by house building companies (Tombesi, 2006). These companies assess the market demand for a development “product” and then if enough demand is apparent they take the decision to begin the project. The nature of these projects is high risk because there is no guarantee that the demand will be sustained. These projects are therefore characterised as being high pressure where time frames are kept to a minimum to ensure that the “products” arrive on the market as soon as possible (Tombesi, 2006).

Another characteristic of these projects is the generic nature of the product for the future customer. Companies that produce large areas of residential development produce developments that will be acceptable to a wide variety of people. Although the size and price of the house will give an indication of the income group that could afford the house, it is impossible to know exactly who is going to buy. Development companies therefore tend to focus on established design options with little variation (Adams & Tiesdell, 2013). This fact is further exacerbated by the size of the development companies. Over the past 20-30 years it has become increasingly evident that large development companies are producing the majority of the new housing stock in the UK (Callcutt, 2007). Indeed, the Callcutt Review (2007) which provides an overview of the house building industry in the UK highlights that approximately half of the new housing stock is produced by the top 10 developers on large sites. (see table 3.2). These large development companies work much like other companies and are continuously seeking to reduce cost where possible and satisfy shareholder demands (most of these companies have Plc status and are therefore controlled by shareholders). Scales of economy encourage them to produce designs that they know can be reproduced easily and nationwide hence reducing risk. These factors have an impact on

the visual appearance of UK cities and the satisfaction of home buyers in general which has been found to be particularly low (Calcutt, 2007). This approach to development also reduces innovation in the industry and issues of sustainability are therefore often sidelined.

Top 10 Housebuilders by units completed (2006)		
1	Persimmon	16701
2	Barratt	14601
3	Wimpey	13616
4	Taylor Woodrow	8294
5	Bellway	7117
6	Wilson Bowden	5628
7	Redrow	4735
8	Miller	3960
9	Gladedale	3854
10	Bovis	3123
Total: 81629		

Table 3.2- Top ten housebuilders in UK (Calcutt, 2007, p.12)

The second type of development project is that created by a client. The range of projects can vary going from an individual house to a large office building but one of the key differences is that the risk for the development company is less because the demand for the development has been established by the client rather than the market (Tombesi, 2006). It is for this reason that the issues of sustainability can be discussed more readily with this type of arrangement, not only because the sense of risk is lower for the developer but also because the client will often have a longer term interest in the development which is likely to increase their interest in sustainable solutions that will reduce their long term costs

(Tombesi, 2006). Issues of sustainability that are likely to be considered especially in this second type of contract arrangement are wide ranging and could include photovoltaics, combined heat and power (CHP), high performance insulation, thermal gain, green roofs, low water use appliances and sustainable sources of materials to name a few but the decision whether to adopt a sustainable approach will always remain with the client (Tombesi, 2006).

Over and above these issues, a Strategy for Sustainable Construction was published in the UK in 2008 (HMG, 2008) and the construction industry in general is being monitored with regard to its environmental performance through a number of key performance criteria. What has become clear so far from the results is that progress has yet to be made and that there is a need to push forward with all aspects of sustainability (Rydin, 2010).

It is clear therefore, that the type of development process and the type of developer involved in the project can have considerable implications for the sustainability of the project. For some projects it may be evident well in advance that sustainability issues will or will not be taken seriously just from the type of organisations involved.

3.3 Stakeholders in the Development Process

The section above has focused on the different stages of the sustainable development process but as was highlighted in the initial introduction to this chapter there are many ways in which a development process can be considered. In this section a more 'agency' approach will be used to look at the main actors in the development process and how they can influence the outcome of the end result. The Figure 3.2 below provides a visual indication of the actors that are typically involved in the development process.

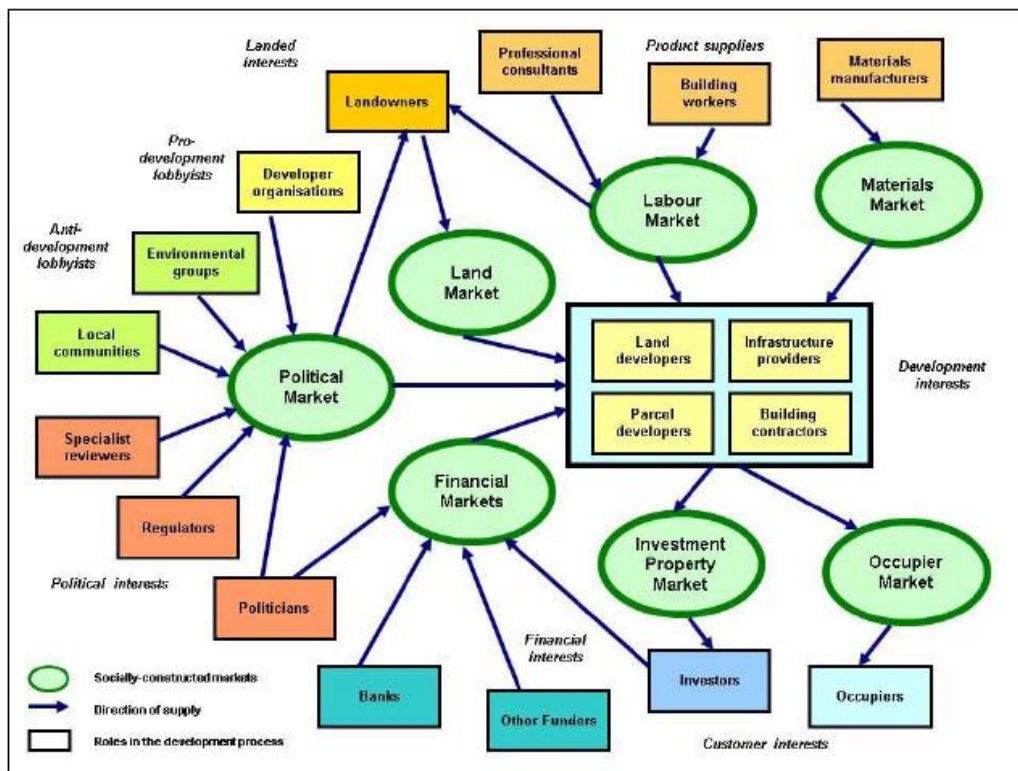


Figure 3.2 – The actors normally involved in the development process (Adams & Watkins, 2014)

As can be seen from the diagram there are four main actors involved in the development process which includes developers, landowners, politicians/communities/interest groups and banks/investors. Each of these will now be considered in turn to gain an understanding about what role they play and how they influence the process.

Developers

Developer interests are represented in Figure 3.2 as containing four distinct types. This includes the land developer that is involved at a strategic level and will often have full ownership of the land that is then divided into different plots and sold on to other developers who are called parcel developers. The third typology is the infrastructure provider who deals with the provision of all major infrastructure on the site and can either be a public or private organisation or a mixture of both. The last type of developer is the building contractor that

actually builds the development. In England it is quite common for all of these roles to be covered by a single private organisation such as a volume house builder as had been discussed previously.

In England there is a continuous discussion about the provision of housing and disagreement about why housing can not be delivered more quickly and efficiently. The planning system is an obvious target in this discussion but the developers play a significant role in this issue as well. As has been highlighted above, the volume house builders represent the majority of housing output in England (Wellings, 2001) and when demand rises they tend to increase price rather than output (Adams et al, 2009). This would indicate that even if further land were designated for residential use such a strategy would have minimal impact on this issue.

In addition to this, despite many policy initiatives to encourage mixed use development proposals, the developer sector has remained traditional in its approach and in most cases has resisted the change towards creating more mixed use environments (Adams & Watkins, 2014). There are exceptions to this and some development companies now specialise in town centre mixed use schemes but this is the exception rather than the rule.

This creates a development sector that is rigid and resistant to change. Where different types of developers remain in their silos and refrain from venturing into new territory. Developers remain a very important part of creating sustainable places and it is important that their role be renovated into something that is more proactive and that engages in the long term vision of place creation.

Landowners

It might be easy to assume, that considering most of the developed world uses a planning system of some form, the role of the landowner would be less influential with regard to regeneration proposals. The landowner remains an important stakeholder however because of the power they can wield over the progress of projects. In some situations, the local government or even national government can use compulsory purchase to eliminate the problem of landowners holding the process to ransom (See Hamburg Case Study). This, however, is very unusual in England which means that landowners in England still play an important role in how a development process evolves.

Landowners can be categorised into two distinct groups which includes active and passive owners. The active group will normally have a strong interest in the development proposals coming forward and try to enter into a joint agreement with either other landowners or a public authority. The passive owners will normally resist the development proposal and try to hold on to their land at the expense of progress for the process. Adams et al. (2002) suggest that while passive landowners are in the minority they still have the ability to hinder progress substantially.

Landowners therefore have an important role to play in the sustainable development process and it will be important to explore how these actors can be brought onside to ensure a smoother process for large scale urban regeneration.

Politicians, communities and interest groups

Planning is inherently connected to the political sphere and as such can be influenced either by politicians themselves or the steering groups that they set up to advise them. Other groups can also influence the process such as interest groups, community groups and pressure groups. This shows the importance of the planning system as a process where

people can express their opinions openly which links closely with the theory of collaborative planning (discussed in more detail in the following chapter).

Despite the premise that collaborate planning is transparent and provides a level playing field for planning discussions, Pennington (2000) highlights that there are four different groups that have taken advantage of the current system. These include the housebuilding lobby, the agricultural lobby, the local environmental lobby and the professions involved in the development process more widely. Pennington suggests that these lobby groups have been able to adapt to the system and influence it where and when possible while other groups 'suffer in silence'.

Local politicians tend to guard their decision rights carefully and do not always agree with the technical recommendation given to them by the planning professional who assesses the proposal. Indeed, there is a stronger emphasis placed on gaining short-term electoral advantage rather than purely making a decision about whether the proposal will be beneficial for the wider community.

This creates a system which is once again influenced by individuals and organisations acting in their own interest rather than considering the whole situation.

Banks and investors

The level of money and finance flowing into the development industry is not equal over time and space. There are moments when there is very little and then a sudden rush in a particular location. This is partly why the property industry is prone to the boom and bust scenario. To avoid this danger money lenders tend to focus their investments in locations they know well and where they perceive a lower degree of risk. This has the consequence of certain locations such as London having a lot of investment potential where as other

places having none (Guy & Henneberry, 2000). Breaking this pattern is difficult but could be considered a key objective of the planning system if we are to achieve a more uniform level of development across the country.

This aversion to risk is understandable but like the actions of developers, landowners and politicians does nothing to help achieve places that are interesting, vibrant and enjoyable to live in. In fact, in a large part the decision making processes that all of these stakeholders take are focused on the self interest of those individuals or organisations. This is clearly not a way in which credible sustainable urban regeneration can be produced. So is there another way?

3.4 Positive Planning

Considering the context outlined above and further research by a variety of different authors (Adams et al, 2011; Falk, 2008, 2011, 2014; Hall, 2014; Oxley et al. 2010) highlighting the advantages shown in other European countries with regard to the delivery of sustainable urban development, it is interesting to think of ways in which the situation in England could be improved.

One option in this search for a new solution for England is the idea of 'positive planning' which revolves around a situation where planning is no longer seen as just an administrative task but rather a more visionary one where planners become engaged with the various stakeholders involved in the development process and rather than just restrict bad development actually try to actively bring forward exemplary development. This idea has most recently been brought forward by the Farrell Review (2014) where positive planning was a key theme and once again emphasises the importance of creating 'plan-shaped markets' rather than 'market-led planning' (Adams & Watkins, 2014)

Process and Outcomes

It is becoming increasingly evident that in a competitive global landscape it is important for cities to be able to create places of value and interest and it is only through this that they will be able to attract the type of investment they are seeking. But how can this be done when the planning process is dominated by the actions of the private market?

The introduction of 'positive planning' can have a strong influence on improving this both through the process and the outcome. In terms of process, the very nature of 'positive planning' is that the local authority (or any equivalent lead organisation) takes on the role of the visionary stakeholder with a long term interest in the location. In doing so, this stakeholder brings together all other stakeholders in a joined up and unified process and in essence helps to create a situation where the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. Power is a key element of this dynamic (See Chapter 4) and it may be important that the key stakeholder is a landowner or can at least acquire land if necessary. Through this dynamic the visionary stakeholder can help to bring forward a 'plan' that is confident in its aims and where other stakeholders need to adhere to this 'plan'. While it might be easy to assume that private developers would resist such an approach, Bell (2005) found that private market actors actually are in favour of such an approach because it provides a level of security that is not normally the case in the English context and highlights the level of commitment to a project that is often missing. This is reinforced by the Barker Review (2006) of Land Use Planning which suggested that plans and planning decisions that ensure a higher level of certainty for private actors in the real estate market have positive economic outcomes.

Other than economic outcomes, 'positive planning' can also have a significant impact on outcomes in general which remains the key objective for planning. The transformation from a market based system to one which is dominated by a visionary planning leader ensures

that real planning objectives such as connectivity and infrastructure are delivered early in the process and that housing is located in areas which are served well by public transport. In other words there is a true focus on the whole rather than individual companies making decisions in order to maximise their profit levels.

The importance of the plan

Planning documents are created all the time by a variety of different organisations so how is it possible to discern a plan that is able to shape markets from one that is dominated by market forces? In some unique situations there is the possibility for the plan maker to be in full control through landownership issues (See chapter 6) and these plans are therefore more enforceable because the private sector needs to engage with the public sector on the terms set out by the public sector. In other situations it is not so clear cut and in these circumstances key considerations need to be followed such as those outlined by Adams & Watkins (2014):

- Taking advantage of market information so that those creating the plan understand the influence they can have on the private market and how they can shape it to their advantage
- Encouraging involvement of market actors but with clear rules of engagement
- Deliberately seeking to change market behaviour through clearer indications about how potential planning applications will be dealt with
- Resolving the tension between certainty which can reduce risk for private actors and flexibility which may be needed in the case of market fluctuations
- Thinking explicitly about the implications for land value as many decisions made in plans can directly influence land value and landowner behaviour
- Connecting with other policy instruments especially in weaker markets and when demand needs to be stimulated

Reforming property rights

While development plans can achieve significant levels of change there is always room for other instruments to reinforce and support change (Adams & Tiesdell, 2013). This is particularly the case with property rights and more specifically landownership issues. Allowing local authorities to engage with CPO processes more easily and less expensively would allow landownership issues to be dealt with more swiftly to the benefit of all those involved. This instrument would enhance public sector powers but other instruments can be used that influence private sector behaviour in such a way that is favourable in achieving strategic projects.

Strategic market transformation

In the case of large scale urban regeneration projects the need for strategic market transformation is clearly evident due to the sheer scale of the endeavour. Unilateral action by a single developer is rarely enough to create market transformation. Strategic market transformation requires the 'place promoter' together with its development stakeholders to systematically change the perception of the location. This is particularly the case in a situation concerning brownfield or inner city sites and can only be achieved through the creation of development demand, risk reduction and confidence building. If this is achieved then a series of benefits can be drawn from the project as it moves forward such as an increase in land values and the possibility of infrastructure improvements at the outset all of which help to create a virtuous circle.

3.5 Conclusion

Through existing research it has been shown that 'positive planning' has real potential to bring forward sustainable urban regeneration in a more consistent manner in England. At the moment England has been left with what could be considered 'half a planning system'

(Adams & Watkins, 2014) which is adept at restricting development but has limited ability in bringing forward or even encouraging sustainable development that can enrich people's lives. Falk (2014) suggests that other European countries have far stronger planning systems than England and because of this are able to build bigger, better housing and serve that housing with better infrastructure. Oxley et al. (2008) builds on this argument by suggesting that the English planning system is essentially passive and reactive whereas the systems in Germany and the Netherlands are dominated by pro-active land assembly and land supply processes that help to place an emphasis on quality and sustainability.

For this reason, this research intends to look at different sustainable urban developments around Europe, where '*positive planning*' is more prevalent (Hall, 2014), to gain an understanding of their birth and process. In doing so it will become clearer as to how sustainable development projects can be encouraged through the planning and development process and the groundwork that is required in order to do so. This is important for many reasons but in particular it will lead to a greater understanding about how sustainable urban developments can be encouraged in England, what type of organisations need to be involved, the different relationships between the organisations involved and the difficulties that they encountered.

Before this is possible, it is important to create an understanding of the dynamics that can evolve between the key actors involved in the development processes. The next chapter will focus on this issue covering governance, networks, partnerships and power relations as well as providing a specific analytical framework through which the research will be conducted.

CHAPTER 4 - GOVERNANCE IN SUSTAINABLE URBAN REGENERATION

In the previous chapter development processes were explored. Through this it is possible to appreciate the complexity and variety of different actors normally involved in sustainable urban regeneration as well as the different connections between them. This chapter will seek to explore these connections in more detail, looking more specifically how power relations, networks and partnerships can have an important influence on how sustainable urban development processes are established and how a project moves forward and how important decisions about sustainability are made. This will provide the framework for the aim of this thesis which is to analyse exactly how sustainable development processes are created, who is involved and where power is located for them to flourish.

An appropriate means of understanding the complexities of a sustainable development process and the connections and power relations within it, is through collaborative planning and related concepts in urban governance. Collaborative planning can be defined as a pluralist approach to planning where as many stakeholders as possible are involved in the decision making process (Healey, 1997; Healey, 2003, Sandercock 2000; Hillier, 2003). The theory provides us with a useful base for the analytical framework for this research as it represents an approach that specifically deals with conflict within planning especially between those who hold power and those that don't. Collaborative planning, however, has its weaknesses. It has been criticised for being utopian because while it tries to include all actors, in practice it makes coherent decision making almost impossible. It seeks to provide a win-win solution for all parties involved but does not address the inevitable power differentials that exist in society. It also creates an over emphasis on process rather than outcome (Mouffe, 1999; Sandercock 2000; Hillier, 2003). An additional theoretical element is therefore necessary which in this case can be provided by urban governance theories such as power, partnerships and networks. By doing so, the weaknesses of the

collaborative planning approach can be addressed and a more comprehensive analytical framework established that will deal more successfully with the complexities of power and governance relationships.

The diagram below (Fig. 4.1) provides an indication of the approach that will be used to build the adequate analytical framework for studying governance in sustainable urban regeneration.

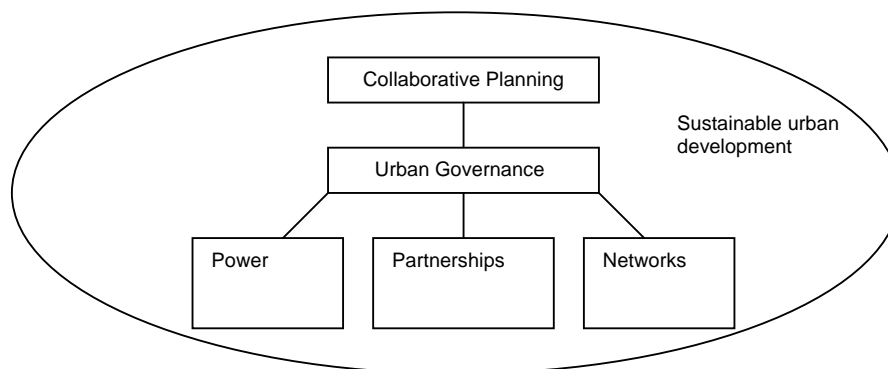


Figure 4.1 – The theoretical approach to this research

This chapter will describe the nature of collaborative planning and urban governance theories which, in turn, will include an analysis of power relations, networks and partnerships. This approach will then be used to create an analytical framework which will form the basis for the approach taken in the empirical chapters later on.

4.1 Collaborative Planning

Collaborative planning emphasises the importance of open discussions about the planning process and in doing so tries to expose the objective of the “public good” as unrealistic (Brand & Gaffikin, 2007). It can be seen in conjunction with sustainable development as an arena for socialist political ideals and to a large degree was supported by the New Labour government during the late 1990s and 2000s (Giddens, 1998).

In identifying the objective of open discussions during the development process, collaborative planners demonstrate a willingness to allow all relevant parties to become involved and voice their opinion. A grass roots or a bottom-up approach is therefore intrinsic to collaborative planning theory. Collaborative planning revolves around providing people with a voice in the decision making process which is often overlooked in partnerships (Sarkissian, 2005).

Beyond including more stakeholders in the decision making process, collaborative planning goes one step further by insisting that all stakeholders should be given equal power when decisions are made. Unfortunately power plays are hard to avoid both in the past and in the modern economy. There are always likely to be parties that have a greater stake in the decision being made and therefore will try to influence decisions accordingly. For many the proposition of an equal power play is a step too far and Flyvberg (1996) seeks to address this by suggesting that rather than a complete level playing field, collaborative planning tries to make those powers as equal as possible.

Putting collaborative planning into practice is one of the key hurdles that needs to be overcome and to do so a considerable amount of adjustment is required by all parties involved. The nature of collaborative planning means that policy debates need to be opened to those who will be affected by them. In other words, a shift needs to be made from representative to discursive politics (Friedmann, 1993). Different options need to be discussed openly in a face to face real time situation. These discussions are unlikely to be easily managed. Many opposing opinions will be voiced but the 'creative tension' it is believed will provide better overall solutions than otherwise would have been found (Elander, 2003).

A wide range of literature (Healey, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2002, 2003; Innes & Booher, 2003; Brand & Gaffikin, 2007) has been written about collaborative planning and its positive and negative aspects. Collaborative planning has been a growing area of research in recent years with a number of different academics suggesting that it represents a theory that is gaining ground (Innes & Booher, 2003) or even a new planning paradigm (Innes, 1995). Despite this seeming enthusiasm for collaborative planning the actual idea remains contested. On the one hand, there are some who believe it to be an overarching theory within which different but related planning theories sit, while others believe that collaborative planning is itself enclosed within a genus of planning theories (Brand & Gaffikin, 2007). Despite this, it is possible to gain a general understanding of collaborative planning theory.

One of the most prolific writers with regard to this subject is Healey and her book *"Collaborative Planning: Shaping Places in Fragmented Societies"* (Healey 1997) as well as a number of different papers on the issue (Healey, 1998, 1999, 2002, 2003). The book sets out collaborative planning as a new way in which to make decisions that are fairer and include those who they are going to affect. It suggests that collaborative planning is about engaging with local communities and understanding their needs in the formulation of planning policy and economic development.

Collaborative planning is not without its critics. There are those who believe that collaborative planning is unrealistic (Mouffe, 1999; Sandercock, 2000; Hillier, 2003). It presents us with a type of democracy that in an ideal world would be the right approach but in many situations is hard to implement in the real world. In particular, reference is made to the fact that collaborative planning wishes to create open debate about issues and thereby deliver a better solution for all. Mouffe (1999) highlights that 'public deliberation on all issues of common concern is a conceptual impossibility'. Sandercock (2000) suggests that power

differentials will always exist even if a so called 'even platform' is created for debate and Hillier (2003) expresses concern about whether true consensus will really be achievable.

These concerns create barriers to the implementation of collaborative planning but it is an approach that is becoming increasingly used in the UK (Giddens, 1998; Brand & Gaffikin, 2007) if somewhat difficult to apply in full. Collaborative planning creates a situation where private, public and individual interests are brought together and as such create a new sphere for planning cities and encouraging economic development. Collaborative planning is therefore not the most appropriate framework on which to base this research and for that reason the theory of governance will now be explored.

4.2 Urban Governance

The nature of building cities is a continuous interplay between public and private sector organisations but the manner of this process has evolved as different approaches have been adopted. Up until the 1990s government was in the UK operated in such a way that was distinct to private sector methods. Local governments received substantial financial backing from central governments and could focus on the two main elements that it needed to perform, namely representational democracy and the provision of local services (Pierre, 1999, 2005).

This approach was appropriate in a time where the lines between public and private sectors were more clearly drawn. The changes in the late 1990s were to a large degree forced upon local authorities as funding streams began to dry up. This forced local authorities to become more entrepreneurial in their search for funding sources and with this change a blur between public and private suddenly came into being (Pierre, 1999; Healey, 2006; Hohn & Neuer, 2006).

The term to describe this new situation in which local authorities found themselves was *urban governance*. Urban governance can be defined as the recognition that urban areas, and the public services they require, can not be run and organised purely by the public sector (Beauregard, 1996; Stoker, 1995; Stone, 1989) and that urban governance seeks to create closer links between local authorities and the international or local business elite.

Pierre (1999) identifies many different types of urban governance including managerial governance, corporatist governance, pro-growth governance and welfare governance. All of these can be found within different contexts whether those contexts are national, city or even local authority boundaries. Much depends on the local context as to which specific approach to urban governance is appropriate.

As Pierre (1999) goes on to highlight, all these forms of urban governance are connected by key characteristics. The first of these is, as has been mentioned above, the connection of public and private interests (Healey, 2006; Hohn & Neuer, 2006). This approach is deemed as being mutually beneficial for the two sectors involved. For the public sector, it is a means by which to access funds that would otherwise not be available and for the private sector it is a means by which to have greater political influence as well as reducing the risk of their investments by the assurances the public sector can provide. In this regard urban governance can therefore be seen as “a two way street” (Pierre, 1999) where private interests can exert pressure on the public sector and vice-versa all within a positive framework of joint working.

The second point is that to understand urban governance there is a need to understand the way in which local authorities work. Of key importance is the transformation of these public organisations in their decision making processes. Up until urban governance took hold as an approach much of the decision making was carried out by the local political elite albeit

democratically elected. The new paradigm of urban governance took decision making into a new realm in which local government was only playing one part in a wider picture of different interests (Pierre, 1999; Hohn & Neuer 2006).

Thirdly, the context in which urban governance approach is developed is critical to the overall approach that is likely to evolve. While it is clear that currently competition between city regions is more aggressive and that local authorities need to be more competitive in attracting investment, the very nature of this competition produces winners and losers and the respective approaches that will be developed by these opposites will be very distinct despite adhering to the same theory with some cities focusing, for example, on financial services and others on tourism depending on their relative strengths. The urban governance approach of a specific area will therefore be intrinsically linked to its social, economic and historical background (Pierre, 1999, Kearns & Paddison, 2000).

Studies undertaken by Healey (2004) also highlight the importance of urban governance as a shift in the way urban areas are managed. She suggests that while there has been a perception of a move from “government” to “governance”, governance she suggests is a more general phenomena and what varies are the specific arrangements. She has developed a table which highlights the different dimensions of urban governance which helps to identify more specifically the elements included. This can be seen in table 4.1 below.

Level	Dimension
Specific episodes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Actors – roles, strategies and interests • Arenas – institutional sites • Settings and interactive practices – communicative repertoires
Governance processes through which bias is mobilised	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Networks and coalitions • Stakeholder selection processes • Discourses – framing issues, problems, solutions, etc • Practices – routines and repertoires for acting • Specification of laws, formal competences and resource flow principles
Governance cultures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Range of accepted modes of governance • Range of embedded cultural values • Formal and informal structures for policing discourses and practices

Table 4.1 – Dimensions of Governance (Healey, 2004)

As can be seen from the table, urban governance can be considered at many different levels and dimensions. It could be argued that urban governance is complex to analyse because of the wide variety of different actors that can take part.

Hohn & Neuer (2006) highlight that urban governance is a new type of planning culture that seeks to be more cooperative and communicative. They suggest that its structure is heterarchical rather than hierarchical. In other words it involves many different people and organisations that link together in a sporadic manner without a clear structural organisation. They highlight that this can bring about a more transparent type of government but also in some cases make it more like a “closed shop”. Hohn & Neuer (2006) also suggest that governance is connected with the culture of the location and issues such as common values, norms and rules, orientation and guidelines, patterns of communication, behaviour and decision making, actors’ perception of their roles and duties and balances of power are all important when considering the nature of the governance arrangement in place.

The theory of urban governance contains reference to a number of different considerations. Principal among these are the issues of power relations, networks and partnerships all of which will help to create a framework through which the development processes of sustainable urban regeneration can be analysed. It is these areas that will now be focused upon.

4.3 Power and Power Relations

Power is defined as *“the capacity or ability to direct or influence the behaviour of others or the course of events”* (oxforddictionaries.com). Power is important in development processes because its influence can have strong implications for the end result. It can be wielded either from the private sector or the public sector and can equally be used by key individuals who have influence. It is therefore an important consideration in sustainable urban development processes and deserves further investigation.

It is commonly believed that power is held by government organisations or large corporations (Allen, 2004). Power is deemed as being emitted through these organisations and down upon us all. The opposite vision to this is that power is held everywhere, by all, and it is the combination of an interlinking network of people that creates what we consider to be power. These two opposing views of power are often termed as concentration vs dispersal and they deserve further consideration (Allen, 2004).

The vision of power from the centre revolves around the idea of the ability to wield it without necessarily using it. In this case power is held by large organisations that have the ability to use it if so necessary and it is this ability to wield power that persuades the general public to follow their guidance. In this case, it is the menace of power rather than power itself that provides the key to having control. This centralised view of power which runs along

government corridors and is seated within corporate boardrooms is a vision of power that is top-down rather than bottom up. It is a power that is imposed rather than constructed (Allen, 2004). But is this really the case? Does power really emanate from these centralised locations or is it somehow built through other means?

The alternative and opposite view to the centralised vision of power is that power is dispersed and that it is inseparable from what it can do (Allen, 2004). From this perspective power is not held by large organisations or centres but by networks of individuals and organisations which work together and provide the outline for what is acceptable or not. Power, in this case, is neither held nor imposed by anyone. Instead, it is something that runs almost invisibly through our daily lives and interactions with people and organisations. Power is constructed by us and imposed by us through an “internalisation of meaning”. Power is the social forces that surround us and instruct us what or what not to do. In this vision we are our own controllers and “power turns up everywhere because it comes from everywhere” (Foucault, 1977).

The third vision of power is that it is neither here nor there, meaning that it is neither centralised nor decentralised (Allen, 2004). Allen (2004) believes that both of the previous visions are misplaced because the real nature of power is connected to the spatial reach and proximity of the power being imposed. This implies that people will alter their actions according to the perceived proximity of power with some powers having greater spatial reach than others. If power is deemed to be lurking close or has great spatial reach, the correct line will be toed. If, on the other hand, power is seen as a distant force that is unlikely to have knowledge of individual actions more infringement will occur.

Allen (2004) goes on to address the nature of the UK government with regard to these different models of power. He highlights that, as the government approach changed from

one of service provision to management of services, two different perspectives on how power relations evolved could be taken. The first was one of continued power at the centre, where central government retained to a large degree control over how services were provided through top-down guidance and regulations. In this vision, the government allowed new organisations to enter into the arena of public service provision but they were tightly controlled through contractual arrangements to undertake work in line with government requirements. The second view of this alteration to a more business orientated version of local government was that central government had lost its power by imposing such a strategy and that despite contractual arrangements, local providers often delivered services as they thought fit as opposed to what was wanted by central government (Du Gay, 2002).

Allen (2004) notes that the second interpretation of the situation that occurred during re-organisation of government in the UK may be unfair. He goes on to highlight that a third interpretation may be more appropriate than both of the above. Drawing on the work of Rose (1994) he suggests that another alternative perspective on what happened at this time is that as services were devolved, self-regulation was encouraged through a number of key actors who operated within these new service providers. As such, regulations are followed as a consequence of a complex interrelationship between people and their behaviour patterns. In this way, power is applied by placing people in certain situations where the presence of power is “felt through the circumstances in which one finds oneself” (Allen, 2004).

Through this analysis of different forms of power it is easy to see the variety of ways in which power can be perceived. Whether it is more centralised or dispersed depends on the situation in question but the new middle ground in between these two is becoming more prevalent in the way we understand how power works especially as governments start to operate through different means. The proximity of government therefore gains a new

importance in terms understanding the source of power whether this is applied through real proximity or spatial reach of powers.

Power and planning

While this analysis of power is useful and provides us with an indication of where power originates from it does not specifically connect with the issue of planning. In order to create this connection we need to look to the work of Foucault (1983, 1984, 1989). Foucault, a French philosopher, wrote extensively on the subject of power and believed that power and power relations are at the bottom of all social interaction. The basis of much of his work and case studies was to discover the hidden power relations in specific social and private organisations. Foucault's work has led to a new school of planning theorists called Foucaultists who adhere to Foucault's analysis of power and bring it into the planning sphere. Academics such as Flyvbjerg (1996, 1998, 2002) Yiftachel (1999), Yiftachel et al. (2001) and Davis (2014) belong to this new school which highlights the murkier side of planning and how planning decisions are achieved.

One of the main arguments that Foucault puts forward is that all social relations are set within the context of power. By focusing on the importance of power, Foucault raises this element as being the most important consideration of all with regard to social interaction.

"Power is nothing other than a certain modification...of a series of clashes which constitute the social body, clashes of the political, economic type etc. Power then is something like the stratification, the institutionalization, the definition of tactics, of implements and arms which are useful in all of these clashes." (Foucault, 1989)

Stein & Harper (2003) suggest that three key elements form part of Foucault's argument:

- 1) Power is elevated to a privileged status
- 2) The meaning of power is extended to cover all human social behaviour
- 3) That two different meanings of power are used which are inconsistent

(Stein & Harper, 2003)

Stein & Harper (2003) disagree with the approach taken by Foucault and the planning theorists that base their work on his ideas. They believe that the approach taken by these theorists is unconstructive and provides little in the way of help for planning practice in a liberal democratic world. They believe there are alternatives in planning theory that provide a much more positive approach to planning thinking than the focus on power that Foucault provides us with.

The alternative view to Foucault is represented by the work put forward by Habermas (1984). Habermas believed that power distorts communications and therefore can be detrimental. His objective was to replace distorted communication with undistorted communication or 'ideal speech situation'. To Habermas undistorted speech is freer and not influenced by power. Foucault criticised the ideas of Habermas by highlighting that he seeks alternatives to power and in doing so misses the main aspects of power relations.

The Habermasian approach to planning theory presents a more positive approach for planning than Foucault (Stein & Harper, 2003). The reason for this, is that it refrains from seeing everything in terms of power and while there is the need to consider the influence of power and power relations with regard to decisions and decision making processes, it should not be converted into an all encompassing analysis that considers nothing but these elements. But how can this approach really help us understand power relations?

One of the approaches to avoid this pitfall is to focus on other elements than power and one of these is trust (Stein & Harper, 2003). Trust, Stein & Harper argue, helps to create and forge communities as opposed to power which will only begin to separate them. While they do not discount the importance of power, they highlight that it would be difficult to envisage a world where trust did not exist. They suggest that trust is equally as important in terms of human relations as power and that many of the daily human interactions and working practices could not be carried out without an element of trust.

Baier (1994) discusses the issue of trust extensively and in doing so suggests that without trust there is little in this world that she would want to attach herself to. Indeed, trust, it is argued, is of key importance to all communication, understanding, knowledge or learning because without this all would need some form of guarantee or certificate. Trust represents a way forward for planning theory because it provides a positive theory in which the process of planning can be delivered. It suggests that planning is not murky or that dark forces are at play but that all is possible within the context of a liberal democratic society (Stein & Harper, 2003). In taking this theory forward we have the opportunity to see the interaction between actors involved in planning as being influenced by a number of different elements not only power and by highlighting the importance of trust we have a view from which we can see a positive and constructive outcome.

To conclude this discussion, this research seeks to explain how sustainable urban development comes forward and the processes that are involved. It seeks to identify the key actors that are involved in the process and the connections and relationships between them and how this shapes the approaches to sustainability in urban regeneration projects. Power and power relations therefore provides a lens through which to assess the relations between these actors and while power can not represent the whole picture it does signal an important dynamic. This said, the issue of trust in the relationships between the actors

should also be considered as this, as much as power, might provide an indication of which individuals or organisations were key in the development process. For this reason the concept of partnerships will now be explored.

4.4 Partnerships

Urban governance covers a wide range of different considerations and can also be considered to include “*partnerships*”. Partnerships are defined as “a coalition of interests drawn from more than one sector in order to prepare and oversee an agreed strategy for the regeneration of a defined area” (Bailey et al. 1995). Partnerships are of interest because they allow us to look in more detail at how public-private working operates. Elander (2002) provides an overview and a structure by which to assess partnerships and highlights that they are focused on power being created by “co-operation, its possibilities and limitations”.

Elander (2002) highlights that there are three main reasons which support the idea of partnership (Bailey et al, 1995; Hastings, 1995; Mackintosh, 1992). The first is the synergy (Mackintosh, 1992) which is created when a partnership is established. The idea behind this synergy is that as two organisations with considerably different backgrounds and perspectives come together with a mutual goal or objective certain synergies are created. This would normally include the possibility of combining assets and resources which in turn should create much more powerful effects than if each of the partners were to operate individually. In doing so, partnerships create situations where both private shareholders as well as those concerned with social considerations benefit from a situation where the sum is greater than its constituent parts.

It is argued that another positive element of partnerships is the transformation that occurs within the organisations that are taking part (Mackintosh, 1992). As has been highlighted previously, private and public organisations often work in very different worlds, which have

different objectives and different working practices. The nature of a partnership requires these different organisations to come together and work towards a single goal. In doing so, conflicts will inevitably arise but at the same time a process of mutual learning can also be instilled, where the public sector begins to get an appreciation of the pressure and financial constraints within which the private sector needs to operate and those from the private sector begin to understand the processes that need to be adhered to in the public sector. As these two elements come together the private sector will seek to increase efficiency of the process and reduce costs and an equal and opposite reaction from the public sector will ensure long term goals and social objectives. This balance of perspectives can be seen as positive as it is more likely to result in a better end result where more considerations have been taken into account (Mackintosh, 1992).

The third benefit of partnerships is budget enlargement (Mackintosh, 1992). The very nature of joint working between the private and public sector means that pools of finance can be brought together which then can often be used to source further funds from third parties. Partnerships, therefore, have an important role in making projects viable. Indeed, partnerships can be seen by many in the public sector as a good way to lever development finance from the private sector and at the same time outsource some of the responsibility of the project being undertaken (Jewson & MacGregor, 1997).

While there are many reasons to think positively about the idea of partnerships and the benefits they bring, there are also some drawbacks especially with regard to democratic accountability. This is highlighted by Jewson & MacGregor (1997) who note that as partnerships develop there is a tendency for the organisations involved to internalise decision making and focus on the issues of efficiency and equity. This poses the danger of creating a situation where public accountability is disregarded or overlooked. This is clearly a risk when engaging with partnerships and therefore must be addressed. A further question

to those that have been outlined above about partnerships may therefore explore the degree to which the public and other stakeholders have been involved in the process.

For the purposes of this research, partnerships provide a lens for research. The development processes associated with sustainable urban development are often complex and involve a wide variety of actors that have different types of relationships between them. Due to the complexity of urban development sites, partnerships are common when bringing the development sites forward as it can reduce risk to those involved, especially if the risk is spread out over several organisations. It is therefore vital that partnerships form part of the analytical framework because they are likely to be instrumental in many cases where sustainable development has been achieved. It is therefore necessary to look at these examples and create an understanding about how these partnerships have helped to shape and bring forward a sustainable approach.

Partnerships and power provide a way in which to consider sustainable urban development processes and understand them more comprehensively but it is important to address the concept of networks as well. The theory of networks will now be explored.

4.5 Networks

The origins of networks are connected to logistics and transportation systems but has slowly infiltrated into the social sciences and policy discussions (Law, 1992; Murdoch 1998; Rowley 1997). Networks are defined as *“a way in which to organise and run institutions and private companies”* (Moulaert & Cabaret, 2006). They are seen as positive because they suggest an organisational structure that is flexible, flat, reduces costs and provides a level playing field in terms of power among stakeholders.

Despite these positive attributes of networks, it is often very difficult for organisations to succeed in using networks in the way they are intended. Indeed, changing from a more traditional way of working towards the network model can often be almost impossible because of the habits that individuals have evolved and the often unequal power relations that exist (Moulaert & Cabaret, 2006).

One of the main problems with the network concept is the confusion with the normative use of networks and the analytical sense. In the normative sense network cities and network companies show key ingredients of network behaviour. The danger is that this normative approach is then automatically taken forward to describe the organisation or institution in its entirety in these terms without considering that in fact the network approach is not really being applied and that in real terms there is wide spread use of power relations and communication problems.

Moulaert & Cabaret (2006) suggest that this confusion of the normative and analytical sense of networks can lead to false conclusions. The first is that introducing a slightly better organisational structure and improving communication methods will inevitably bring forward an organisation that will adhere to network principles. The second is the belief that many organisations already show attributes of networking principles and that through the influence of policy these organisations can be improved to become fully representative of the network model with democratic representation and equal stakeholder interests. From the above it is clear that it is not always easy to carry out network analysis either on existing organisations or for desired situations. There are a number of reasons for this but here we will concentrate on two:

- 1) The inability to understand the institutional and structural context within which the organisation is working

- 2) The lack of consideration towards power relations

The first of these problems relates to the fact that as humans we almost inevitably interact through networks. Humans are almost always interconnected and embedded in networks that they can call on when necessary. Organisations are also networks that share ways of communicating and networking with the outside world. But how this actually works requires more depth of understanding of the context within which an organisation finds itself.

Moulaert & Cabaret (2006) provide three different network theories that help us to understand the differing contexts in which networks can evolve. This includes the following:

- 1) New Institutional Economics
- 2) Economic and Institutional Sociology
- 3) Economic Evolutionism

The three theories outlined above present ways in which networks can be considered through different lenses. Despite this, there remains significant commonality between the different theories especially with regard to rationality. The greater differences are located in areas of rational behaviour, consideration of environment and the coordination of agents. Where these theories perform less well, however, is in their attention towards power and power relations because despite the notion that networks provide consensus and equality, in reality there is considerable distortion of equality through power relations.

Networks are considered by many as a way in which the negative impacts of hierarchies can be resolved. Hierarchies are seen as old formats where power relations have a negative impact on the way in which people work and interact. The problem with this is that while the approach toward hierarchies could potentially be correct, the simple approach of employing

the network model does not eliminate the need to consider power and power relations especially because these retain an important influence even in the network model. It is, therefore, surprising to note the lack of attention that is given to this consideration within the network theories (Mouleart & Cabaret, 2006).

In an attempt to introduce power and power relations into the theory of networks, Mouleart & Cabaret (2006) suggest looking towards both regulation theory and Bourdieu (1972). Although regulation theory looks primarily at economic behaviour, it is especially relevant for networks that operate in non-economic areas. It highlights that property relations, labour-capital relations and finance capital all have an important influence in networks and in most cases these do not represent networks where there is an equal level of power for all stakeholders. Bourdieu (1972) highlights the tension between real and symbolic power and introduces the notion of 'habitus' which refers to the habits that people adopt over time as their behaviour is shaped by the people and organisations that surround them. This can also have an important impact in the way we consider networks because it brings forward the notion that the habitus that people create is directly determined by these different powers. By applying these theories Mouleart & Cabaret (2006) are seeking to introduce power and power relations into networks. This is clearly a useful approach because very few networks are devoid of power and it is important that these influences are considered when analysing network situations.

Critics of the network theory of governance such as Davis (2011) suggest that networks have become a way in which to describe such a variety of modern day interaction that other perspectives have been overlooked and disregarded. Indeed, he goes further by suggesting that the importance of network governance theory may have been overestimated by writers such as Rhodes (2011) and Stoker (2011) and that both the issues of 'hard power' and the influence of 'trust' have not been sufficiently researched. Davis (2011) indicates that from

his understanding network governance theory can be understood as a vehicle for the progression of neo-liberal ideals rather than a true way of understanding the mechanics of the modern world.

How can this be applied to planning? How can this new empowerment of networks help us to understand networks in the planning field? This is an important consideration because stakeholders are rarely of equal influence in planning issues. Power relations are prominent and it could be argued that these ought to be taken account of when addressing the networks that exist, otherwise there is a danger that the true representation of the network will be missed.

This section has provided an overview of important considerations such as power relations, networks and partnerships, all of which can have a strong influence over the way in which a development process moved forward. This will now form the basis for the next section which will include drawing upon key concepts to begin development of an analytical framework upon which the empirical work for this research will be based.

4.5 Urban Governance and understanding Sustainable Urban Regeneration

The aim of this research is to gain a stronger understanding of the development processes connected with sustainable urban development but to do this it is necessary to create a framework through which the research can be conducted. This includes the issues that have been highlighted above such as the importance of power relations and whether power is located on the private or public side, the influence of networks and how those networks can be vital in bringing forward sustainable urban development and finally, the frequent requirement for partnerships between both private organisations themselves and the public domain.

The analytical framework for this research draws upon urban governance theories. Collaborative planning provides an overarching framework but as has been shown this theoretical model has clear and distinct weaknesses connected with the actual ability to deliver in the real world. As such urban governance has been taken forward as the most appropriate theoretical framework for this research and encompasses the issues of power, networks and partnerships which are vital when considering the way in which development processes work.

What is required, therefore, is a framework that minimises the weaknesses of collaborative planning theory but at the same time builds on the strengths of the theories that have been explored in this chapter. In this regard the analytical framework that this research will use is based on work by Coaffee & Healey (2003) which while founded on collaborative planning theory allows an integrated use of the theories of urban governance including issues such as power, networks and partnerships to be considered. The institutionalist framework that Coaffee & Healey developed was created to gain an understanding about the introduction of area committees by Newcastle City Council and whether their introduction truly represented a change to governance culture in the city council. The issues being dealt with in this research are not focused on establishing whether a change to urban governance has occurred but more specifically what type of urban governance is in place and issues of power, partnerships and networks between actors and how these have had an impact on the development processes of sustainable urban development.

The Coaffee & Healey (2003) framework brings forward these issues and recognises that to understand development processes it is important to understand the networks between organisations as well as to recognise the importance power plays within these networks and how these influence decision making processes. The importance of partnerships between public and private organisations is considered as well as how the relationship between the

two domains has become increasingly close over the past decade as public organisations strive for more efficiency and private organisations search for certainty and security.

Dimensions	Criteria
Networks and coalitions	Connections made to residents in many situations Connections made to significant 'mainstream' arenas and networks
Stakeholder selection processes	Inclusive selection of who gets involved in area committees Multiple 'voices' for place accessed
Discourses: framing issues, problems, solutions, interests, etc.	Strong daily life emphasis Diverse experiences of place emphasised Distributive issues/conflicts over priorities recognised Knowledge resources enriched in range and type
Practices: routines and repertoires for acting	These are: accessible; diverse; facilitative; transparent; sincere

Table 4.2 – Original Analytical Framework (Coaffee & Healey, 2003)

The framework by Coaffee & Healey (2003) provides a number of dimensions that are important for this research when developing an analytical framework. For the purposes of this research we will only draw upon the 1st (Networks and coalitions) and 3rd (Discourses) dimensions. The Networks and Coalitions dimension is important because it contains the elements of power, partnerships and networks that have been drawn out above. The Discourses dimension is also included because it includes framing issues which in this case are sustainable urban development, development processes and governance arrangements.

The benefit of drawing upon the framework developed by Coaffee & Healey is that while its approach is based on collaborative planning theory it can be adapted so as to address a number of key elements that are necessary when dealing with a research project such as this. By discarding the overarching collaborative planning framework and selecting just two of the dimensions it is possible to remove the weaknesses that would have a negative impact on this research. In addition, the fact that power, networks and partnerships can all be included in the framework means that the theoretical weaknesses within each of these

can be mitigated. To choose just one theory would leave the research weak in certain elements whereas this framework allows the combination of theories into a more comprehensive approach.

The analytical framework is set out in table 4.3 below:

Dimensions	Assessment Criteria
Secondary Dimension: Contextual Issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The social cultural and economic context • The planning context • The nature and focus of the case study
Primary Dimension 1: Networks and coalition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Governance arrangements • Power relations between key actors • Partnerships • Connections made with the development networks. This is likely to include actors such as the local authority, developers, architects, land owners, development corporations, politicians and community groups
Primary Dimension 2: Discourses: framing issues, problems, solutions, interests	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sustainable urban development • The development process

Table 4.3 – The analytical framework (adapted from Coaffee & Healey, 2003)

The dimensions that are highlighted in the table provide a framework which enables the consideration of the urban governance theories required. Most notably this includes governance, power, networks and partnerships in primary dimension 1. Issues of sustainable urban development and the development process are covered by primary dimension 2 and an additional secondary dimension has been added at the beginning to ensure that all the contextual information is also covered.

The figure below shows the theoretical approach more clearly. As can be seen the original dimensions are clearly linked to collaborative planning theory but the dimensions and the assessment criteria of these dimensions cover the relevant urban governance theories such as power, partnerships and networks (see dotted line).

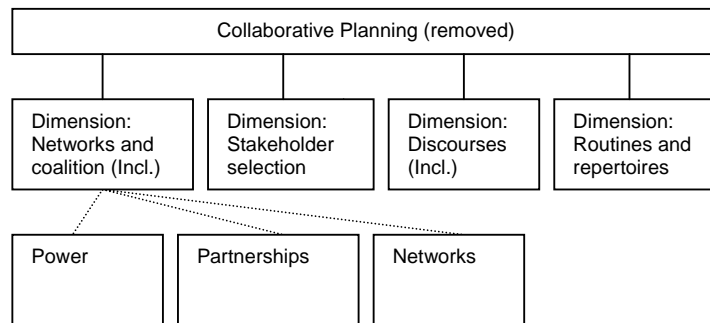


Figure 4.2 – The dimensions of the analytical framework (Incl. indicates the dimensions that are included in the analytical framework)

The assessment criteria outlined in the table above provide a clear indication about how the research will move forward. The main aim of the research is to look into the development processes that are used to create sustainable urban development as well as the governance methods used by the local authority. With this in mind, the research will seek to gain knowledge about the type of networks and power relations that existed in the chosen case studies which will span different national and city contexts. As table 4.5 indicates, this will involve contacting a range of different actors that were involved in the process to gain an understanding of their perspective on the case study project. By seeking the views of these different actors it will be possible to create an understanding, not only of the project itself, but also about how the different actors interacted so as to make the project feasible and viable.

4.5 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to provide a theoretical context for the work that is to be carried out in this research. In this case it is necessary to draw on a number of different theories including collaborative planning and urban governance theories in particular. While urban governance is central to the approach that is to be used it does not provide an overall theoretical structure that is required. Collaborative planning, on the other hand, is a theory that seeks to include all actors and as such is the most appropriate model to take forward as the overarching theoretical background.

The theories of power, networks and partnerships each have their strengths and weaknesses in approach. It is important therefore to create an analytical framework that addresses these issues and seeks to minimise the weaknesses as far as possible. The use of the model created by Coaffee & Healey (2003) helps to bring all of the theoretical approaches together and in doing so helps to eliminate the weaknesses of the individual theories.

The approach is one which combines the ideas and philosophies of collaborative planning while at the same time understands that the social and political spheres are inherently affected by power, networks and partnerships. The overall analytical framework will provide the basis from which this research is taken forward and will help to structure the approach taken when looking at the sustainable urban projects that are the subject of this project. Sustainable urban development projects inevitably involve a large number of different actors and have the possibility to interact in a number of different ways. The focus of this research will not only be which actors are involved but also the power relations between them and the networks and partnerships that are created. It is through this approach and the use of the analytical framework outlined above that evidence will be sought about how sustainable urban development is created and developed both from the public and private sides.

The literature review chapters have covered a number of key issues that are vital when considering the importance of development processes connected with sustainable urban development. The first chapter highlighted the concept of sustainable urban development together with the way in which the English planning system steers development. The second chapter focused on the intricate details of how development processes can be considered and conceptualised and the third chapter has given an overview of the way in which power relations, networks and partnerships can influence the overall outcome of a development process.

These three literature review chapters provide the background knowledge through which to progress this research. The following chapter will provide more detail about the methodology that will be used in conducting the research.

CHAPTER 5 - METHODOLOGY

The aim of this research is to gain a detailed insight into the development processes associated with sustainable urban development projects and to understand what is required in order to ensure that sustainable development processes become better known. In order to do this, the previous three chapters have provided an overview of the existing literature available on this area of research and culminated with an analytical framework which provides the starting point for this methods chapter. The focus on the different theories that have been put forward as well as the subsequent analytical framework allows for the consideration and formulation of research questions which are set out below. From these research questions a more detailed operational analytical framework will be developed together with a methodology as to how the research will be carried out.

The figure below provides a summary of the larger research process:

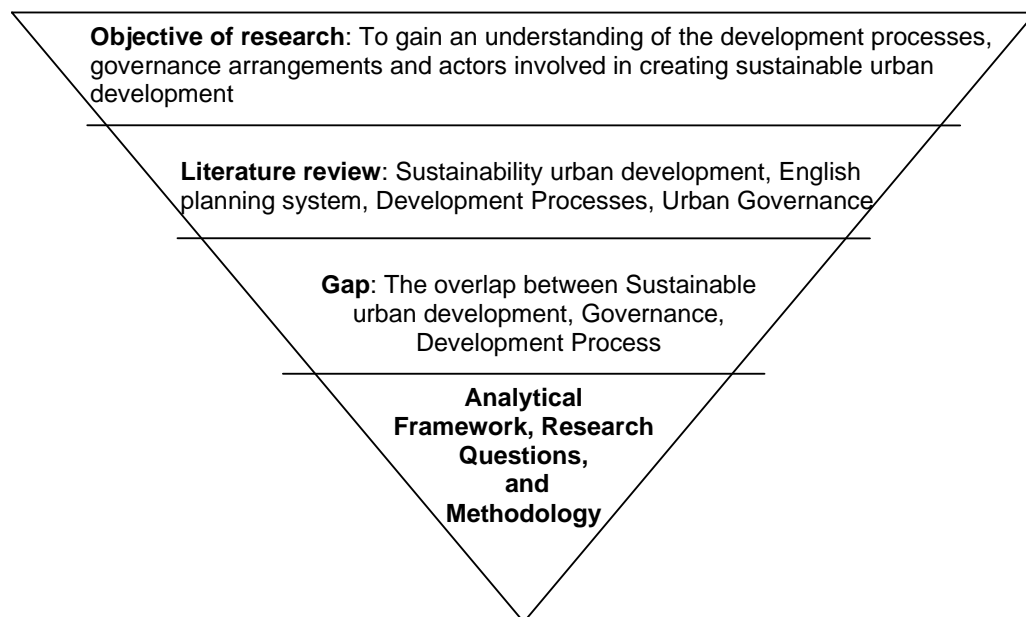


Figure 5.1 - The research process

5.1 The Research Gap

The literature review indicates what has previously been carried out in the main areas of interest that are linked to this project. The chapters have covered issues of sustainability and how this fits into the English planning system, the theoretical approach to development processes and how they can be modelled and, finally, theories associated with governance and the importance of the actors involved in the process together with the power relations, networks and partnerships that exist between them. The review has shown that research has been undertaken in each area but while each segment has been researched, it is the combination of these elements as well as the cross-national nature of this research that as yet has not been explored and it is the intersection of these areas where this thesis will concentrate. The diagram below provides an indication of where the research gap is located:

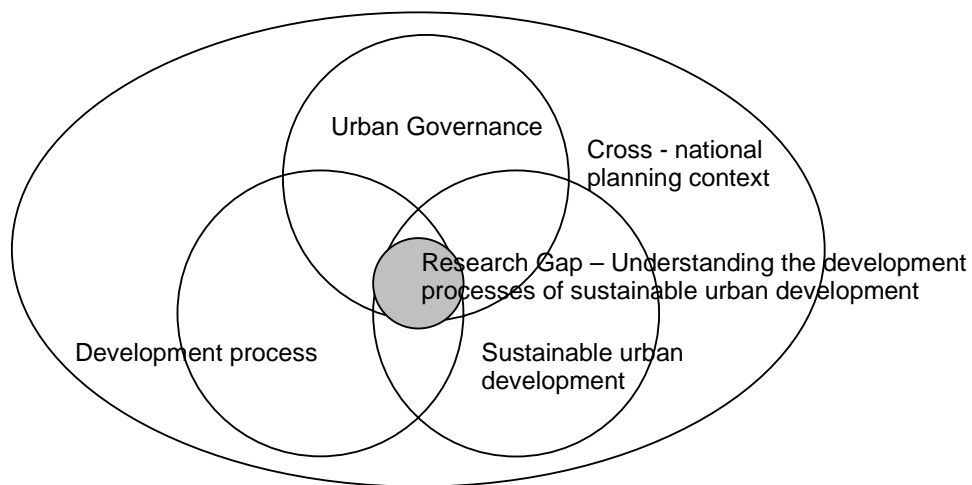


Figure 5.2 – Identifying the research gap and its context

This implies that the research will focus on the topic of the development processes associated with sustainable urban regeneration in three different countries and in particular the consideration of networks, power relations and partnerships within these processes. This will include gaining an understanding of the political, cultural, social and planning

context within which the sustainable urban regeneration flourished. It will also require an understanding of the governance arrangements of the local authority and exactly which type or form of partnerships or networks exist between local and private organisations such as local authorities and developers. It will also require an understanding of the other actors involved in the process and their specific philosophies towards sustainable urban regeneration and their assets. The power relations between these actors is also of key concern as it is imperative to create an understanding about which organisation controlled decision making processes. It is from this type of analysis that we will be able to draw out lessons for policy makers in England in order to create better and more efficient pathways for more successful and comprehensive sustainable urban regeneration projects.

5.2 Research Questions

Following on from the identified research gap, it is necessary to create clear research questions that will help to direct this piece of research. The table below provides an outline of the main research question together with a number of sub-questions. An explanation of each question is provided to give further guidance as to what is being considered within this thesis.

Main question:	How does the development process operate differentially in a variety of European contexts and how does this influence practices associated with major urban regeneration projects?
The main focus of this research is to consider the development processes that have been used to create the exemplar sustainable urban regeneration around Europe. Differing development processes are likely to be in operation in different European countries and the aim is to get an understanding as to how they are different from each other as well as different to normal development processes that characterise traditional developments in England. Understanding these issues will help policy makers in England reflect about how a more suitable system can be brought forward that will address issues of delivery, quality and diversity of regeneration projects.	
Sub-question 1:	What network arrangements and partnerships have been utilised to bring development forward?
In order to understand the development processes involved in the creation of sustainable urban development it is important to gain an understanding of the networks and partnerships involved, how they were established and who or what helped to create them. As literature review shows, partnerships and networks form an important part of the theory of governance and it is therefore vital to grasp these and how they form part of the overall development process. These links between individuals or organisations can often be instrumental to the outcome of a regeneration process and as such need to be studied and understood if they are to be implemented in England.	
Sub-question 2:	What type of actors were involved and what were the power relationships between them?
There are a range of different actors that can be involved in development processes. The type of actors that are involved, and more specifically the internal philosophy of these actors, can often have a significant influence about the outcome of a project. Power relationships are likely to have important role in determining exactly what is achieved on the ground. For this reason it is important to consider the power relationships between the key actors to gain an understanding about the decision making processes that promoted the sustainable regeneration projects. Once these power relations are understood it becomes easier to identify which organisations and individuals need to be able to exert power and how their power must be used to achieve the required results.	
Sub-question 3:	What can be learnt from the development processes used abroad to create sustainable urban development and how can they be applied, if at all, in England?
One of the key aims of this research is to create an understanding of development processes that have brought sustainable urban development forward. By considering examples from different European countries the possibility to learn about new methods and processes presents itself. This research aims to consider the processes that are taken from abroad and how they could potentially be applied in England. England represents the receiving country for this research and as such any lessons that are learnt will be brought back and given consideration as to whether they can be taken forward in the English context. This approach will help policy makers to establish alternatives to the current system and in doing so explore options that can help to promote sustainable urban regeneration in England.	

Table 5.1 – The research questions

5.3 Operational Analytical Framework

The research questions that have been developed above provide the basis with which it is possible to begin the research process. It is important, however, to create a clear operational analytical framework. The framework can be seen in the table below and builds on the one previously set out in chapter 4. The table highlights the different lenses through which the research will be conducted. By creating this framework it will be possible to ensure that the research is consistent in its approach.

Secondary Dimension: Contextual Issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The social /cultural /economic context 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Size of country • Development issues • Economic situation and impact of crisis • Culture towards property • Political situation • Location and type of power (central, regional or local)
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The planning system 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Type of planning system • Approach towards economic development • Approach towards environmental issues • Power of regions • Power of local authorities
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The location and size of the development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide specific information about where the sustainable urban development is located in relation to the rest of the urban development around it • Provide information about the size of the site and the number of people who live there at the present time
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Density 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide information about the density of the development
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land uses and transportation infrastructure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide information about the mixture of land uses on the site including the mix between private and social housing • Indicate the type of infrastructure that

		serves the development
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Site history 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide information about the history of the site, especially with regard to the use that was previously located there
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Key characteristics and innovation of the project 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sustainable urban developments often excel in one area of sustainability. Provide information about this element and any other elements of innovation that should be highlighted
Primary Dimension 1: Networks and Coalition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Governance, power relations, partnerships and networks 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indicate what type of approach the local authority has towards governance in general • Provide evidence about whether partnerships are usual practice and whether a partnership approach was used in this particular case • Try to gain an understanding of the power relationships between the key actors and what influence these relationships had over the process • Gain an insight into the networks that were established and why they were developed
Primary Dimension 2: Discourses: Framing Issues, problems, solutions, interests	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sustainability / Development Process 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gain an understanding of how the project was started and which organisations or individuals were key in this process • Understand which actors were involved in the process • Assess what type of actors were involved, in particular their approach towards sustainable urban development principles • Assess the relationship between the actors, in particular focus on the balance of power between them and the key decision maker • Assess the assets that the actors bring to the table including finance, education and influence • Identify the key land owner and their role in the process • Which organisation played the lead role and why?

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How was the project funded and was viability an issue? • How was the local community involved in the process?
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Table 5.2 – Operational Analytical Framework

5.4 Research Design

Building on the objectives of this research as well as the research questions that have been highlighted above, the appropriate type of research methodology that can be applied will now be considered. The applied methodology should ideally relate specifically to the type of research being carried out. In this case large scale urban regeneration projects are being used which creates important implications and it is partly for this reason that the approach of case studies is suggested because it deals with some of the difficulties of cross-national research more comprehensively than other approaches.

Cross National Comparative Research

“Cross-national comparative research has become increasingly attractive, because of the opportunities that it provides for analysts to test emerging theories under new circumstances” (Masser, 1986, p. 11)

The attractions of cross-national research have long been known but these attractions are sometimes taken on without knowledge of the drawbacks and difficulties that can occur when conducting cross-national research. Masser (1986) highlights that this type of research is no different to other planning research other than its cross-border focus. This cross-border element, however, brings with it a number of difficulties.

One of these difficulties is the comparison of planning elements and the contexts that surround them. The importance of the institutional context was highlighted by Friedmann (1967). Friedmann's approach was based on the idea that the planning system of a country is set up in accordance to the surrounding legal, social and economic context within which it operates. This led Friedmann to hypothesise that planning systems can be determined by considering key national variables. To a degree this is a somewhat simplistic approach but it does highlight the importance of the national context on the operations of the planning system.

Masser (1986) highlights that the general approach to cross-national comparative studies can therefore be thought of as a variety of independent variables that are provided by the context and another set of dependent variables that are the planning system itself. These difficulties reflect some of the thinking within organisation theory which highlights the importance of the market context in the success of private businesses.

Cross-national planning studies have a number of issues to deal with that would not otherwise arise in a domestic research project. Masser (1986) highlights that the difficulty is not so much the need to research the context but more how to disconnect the planning phenomenon, in this case sustainable urban development, from the national context.

There are obvious reasons for growth in policy transfer or cross-national lesson drawing in the planning field. In particular, it is evident that as the economy expands and globalisation continues, different countries will be faced with similar problems (Dolowitz & March, 2000; 6-7). As a consequence, policy makers, who previously would have needed to create specific strategies to deal with local issues, can now look further afield in order to get ideas or even to copy policy approaches in other countries.

Despite the drawbacks, it is important to describe the situations in which a cross-national research strategy is likely to be enticing. One of the benefits includes the fact that a recipient country (in this case England) can find a solution to its problems in one or more donor countries (Spaans & Louw, 2009).

Although policy transfer has never seemed so attractive it needs to be approached with an element of caution because not all policies can uprooted and transferred to a new location. This is demonstrated by an analysis by Janssen-Jansen et al. (2008) who highlight that there are a number of ways in which lesson drawing can occur:

- 1) inspiration
- 2) learning
- 3) transplantation

The three levels of lesson drawing increase in intensity from top to bottom. Inspiration denotes the method in which an innovative policy approach in a foreign country is analysed and evaluated. Learning includes the adaptation of the information gathered in the previous phase in order to make it relevant for the recipient country. Transplantation is where the policy approach is taken in its full form and applied directly in the recipient country.

The type of lesson drawing that is appropriate in each situation is highly dependent on the countries in question (Janssen-Jansen et al, 2008). Transplantation of policy in the planning field can only occur between countries with very similar social and planning models because it may otherwise have unintended consequences. This type of research approach is therefore unlikely to be successful with regard to England as the planning system is somewhat unique within Europe (Nadin & Stead, 2008). A more inspiration or learning approach to lesson drawing is likely to be more appropriate when the planning systems of

the countries are significantly different to each other. This idea is presented in the table below:

	Transfer within one country	Transfer between countries with similar system/models	Transfer between countries with different systems/models
Inspiration	Less likely	Likely	Very likely
Learning	Likely	Likely	Likely
Transplantation	Very likely	Likely	Less likely

Table 5.3 – Likelihood of transfer between countries in the same and different planning systems (Spaans & Louw, 2009)

In relation to the above, both Wolman & Page (2002) and Dolowitz & Marsh (2000) highlight the importance of “bounded rationality” and “perfect rationality” when considering different systems in different countries. These writers highlight the difference between ‘*perception*’ and ‘*reality*’ which can happen when researchers believe that they have an understanding of a foreign planning system but the system itself may work differently in reality. Despite this, most research projects assume perfect rationality but it has been found that in most situations this is not the case (Wolman & Page, 2002) (Dolowitz & March, 2000). Bounded and perfect rationality also have a considerable affect on how donor countries are selected for research. In many cases countries are selected in a bounded rational manner rather than through real knowledge that the selected countries have specific policies that work and will help the recipient country.

As can be seen from above, policy transfer is complex in cross-national studies and needs to be considered carefully. Dolowitz & March (2000) highlight three reasons as to why policy transfer may not work. These include the following:

Uninformed transfer	the borrowing country may have insufficient information about how the policy operates in the donor country
Incomplete transfer	the policy that is transferred is not brought over in its entirety
Inappropriate transfer	not enough attention was placed on the differences between the countries such as the economic, social and cultural context.

Table 5.4 – Reasons why policy transfer may not work (Dolowitz & March, 2000)

Another approach to international policy transfer is *fast policy transfer* (Peck & Theodore, 2001) or *mobile urbanism* (McCann & Ward, 2011). The former refers to the extent with which policy approaches are shared rapidly around the world through international conferences and meetings. This approach can be applied to a wide variety different policy areas such as welfare for example. The latter follows the same lines but is more specifically connected with issues of planning policy diffusion and it could be argued that Barcelona has been a good example of this in recent years.

Which ever approach is used the pitfalls with cross-national research need to be identified early on if the research is to be successful and one key element in helping to ensure this is using appropriate research design.

5.5 Case Study Approach

Yin (1982) has written extensively on the difficulties of social research which is heavily context dependent. He notes that in general these issues are not unusual in social sciences and that as yet no research design fully deals with all of the issues that this difficulty creates. He acknowledges that traditional techniques for research such as experimentation or laboratory methods which are able to separate variables are not valid in this case. At the same time, statistical and survey approaches are also not possible because the number of variables is often much higher than the number of cases. As such cross-national research presents a problem in terms of the approach and design that is required.

Yin (1982) suggests that the only suitable approach is case studies. He provides a number of reasons for this selection which includes the fact that case study research design does not dictate a type of method collection which, in turn, provides a level of flexibility. The main strength of case studies, however, is the fact that they can be used to get detailed information about a specific situation but at the same time this can be compared to other specific situations. He notes that comparative case study designs can come in various guises including a case study survey, which includes high numbers of cases studies or a case comparison which will include only a few case studies that are researched in more detail. Yin suggests that the second is likely to be more suitable in many situations but notes that the work necessary for this type of research reflects that of a detective where all steps of the process must be carefully explained so that the reader can assess the information and come to their own conclusions.

Case study research design is the predominant way in which cross-national planning research is carried out (Yin, 1982). It is seen as the best manner in which to deal with the difficulties of both dependent and independent variables that are at the heart of planning but the nature of the research design leaves the way in which data is collected very flexible and therefore open to debate.

For the purposes of this research, a case study research design will be chosen as suggested above. The nature of sustainable urban development is that, as yet, it is not common. The choice of case studies and case study countries is therefore restricted to a considerable degree. Despite this, there are a number of different examples in Europe where these developments have been created and it will be these examples that will form the basis of this research. The case study approach will help to minimise variables but the focus of the research will be on inspiration and learning rather than direct policy transfer.

This research is being conducted from an English perspective and therefore England will represent the recipient country. The two foreign case studies will be located in other European countries and will represent donor countries. As opposed to the two case studies abroad, the English case study chapter will represent an opportunity to provide an overview about how sustainable urban development has been brought forward in England up to this point, therefore providing a reference point about how development processes normally work in the English context. This will also provide the opportunity to compare and contrast approaches in comparison with the two European case study examples.

5.6 Case Study Selection and Justification

Case study selection is an important element of the research process. As suggested above with regard to understanding foreign planning systems, the elements of bounded and perfect rationality need to be considered when selecting case studies (Wolman & Page, 2002) (Dolowitz & March, 2000). During case study selection it may not always be possible to have a complete or perfect understanding of the nature of each project and its context even though it may seem as if this were possible from perspective of the researcher. Case study selection therefore requires the careful analysis of all potential options before selection is made.

In terms of selecting the cases studies for this research, a number of key variables were considered. These variables revolved around ensuring that projects of a similar nature were chosen for the purposes of comparison. This involved ensuring that selected case studies either all belonged to the urban extension group or all to inner city regeneration, were all brownfield or greenfield developments, were completed or ongoing and belonged to different countries so as to gain a fuller cross-section of projects and planning systems within Europe and provide cross-national research which is the aim of this project.

Selecting case studies that fit these requirements was not straight forward. The case studies has to be selected specifically with regards to ensuring consistency while at the same time providing different national contexts. Those that were chosen had to show consistency in terms of location and mixture of uses and be at the same stage in the process as well as being representative of the approach towards sustainable urban development in their respective countries. These variables relate specifically to those that have been highlighted in the analytical framework previously outlined in this chapter and therefore present a framework for the selection of case studies that specifically relates back to the issues highlighted in the analytical framework. This is an important point because the case studies that were selected needed to be appropriate for the type of analysis that was going to be carried out.

The tables 5.5 and 5.6 below provide a more detailed analysis of each selection criterion. The first table highlights those variables in which consistency across case studies was sought. The second outlines variable where an inconsistency was permitted. This approach was used as a way in which to narrow down the selection of the case studies and make an effort to ensure that a justifiable comparison could be made.

Variable	Need for consistency
Size/Scale	The size and scale of the development can have important implications for the type of analysis that can be undertaken for this research. In order to ensure that a consistency is achieved with regard to the case studies, developments of a similar scale should be used. In this case, the focus of the research is on developments that are large enough to incorporate a variety of uses and can be considered as sustainable in economic, social and environmental terms and often represent major city centre projects.
Mixed Use	Mixed use environments are generally recognised as being more sustainable. Not all new developments, however, achieve the level of mixed use necessary to create a truly sustainable development with many often focusing on housing. For this research it is important for the case studies to demonstrate a

	<p>real mixture of uses so as to represent a new environment where sustainability is really in operation. Special consideration to this requirement was therefore given when choosing the case studies while at the same time taking into account the critiques (Burton, 2000; Neuman, 2005) surrounding the compact city model that supports this approach. In this case more adherence will be given to the approach set out by Jane Jacobs (1961) which while relating to mixed use focuses more on variety and smallness than pure mixed use. This is especially the case in connection with plot sizes and parcelisation.</p>
Brownfield	<p>Much of the debate about development in the recent decade has focused on the need for development to be located in urban areas and more specifically on brownfield land in order to avoid using greenfield land. Brownfield land represents an opportunity for many cities as it is often located in central areas and although it is often more difficult to encourage developers to take it on, it represents a more sustainable solution in many cases because it ensures that cities are revitalised and regenerated. Case studies which are located on brownfield land were prioritised in this case because of the issues highlighted above. They were given preference because the direction in which planning guidance is currently pointing is likely to continue into the future and therefore research based on brownfield situations is likely to be more relevant for the future.</p>
Ongoing projects	<p>The stage at which a development project finds itself is an important consideration in choosing case studies because in some situations information, individuals, actors or organisations may no longer be available especially if the project has been finished for some time. It is therefore preferable to choose projects that are ongoing because all those that are involved with the project are still in place and are more easily accessible. It is for this reason that ongoing projects were sought as case studies for this research.</p>
Inner city regeneration	<p>Urban regeneration can come in many forms and while it focuses on bringing brownfield land back into use, the type of regeneration that is created is highly dependent on the location of the land. Brownfield land is usually located in central areas of major cities but it can also be located in less accessible areas which are more difficult to integrate with the city. For this research, case studies which are located in inner city areas were chosen over those that are located in the outskirts of cities or represent an urban extension to the urban form.</p>

Table 5.5 – Key variables that require consistency across the case studies

Variable	Inconsistency permitted
National planning context	The purpose of this research is a cross-national study of development processes linked to sustainable urban development. Within Europe there are a limited range of developments that could be chosen as case study examples for this project but one important element that needed to be considered in the final selection was the influence of the planning systems on development processes. As has been highlighted in the literature review, planning systems have different origins and influences as well as legal contexts. In this case the objective revolved around choosing case studies that belonged to different planning system families and as such the choice of English, German and Spanish examples achieves this objective.
Social and political culture	The nature of nation states is that they are considerably different in many situations. This is particularly apparent with culture both social and political. Different cultures have different ways in which they operate, they use different methodologies, they approach similar problems with different mentalities. This difference in social culture can have a profound impact on the way in which business and development operates in different countries. This can equally be applied to the political situation as well. The choice of case studies across three different countries is an attempt to understand the impact of some of these cultural contexts and the impact they can have on the development process of sustainable urban development.
Structure of public organisations	Much like the planning systems and culture, the structure of public organisations can vary significantly from country to country. In some situations power will be held centrally and in others it will be more devolved. This is an important consideration because it can have an important impact on the way in which development is brought forward. The very fact the case studies are located in different countries will ensure that this variable will change.
Development processes	The main aim of this research is to gain an understanding of the development processes connected with sustainable urban developments in different European countries. The complexity and wide variety of development processes ensures that the development processes in different countries are likely to differ. The differences with regard to this variable are important as they will provide some insight into the workings of sustainable urban development in different countries.

Table 5.6 – Variables where inconsistency was permitted

There are a range of major developments '*branded*' as sustainable urban developments throughout Europe. They have evolved at different times and in different contexts but retain a core focus on the three main elements of sustainability. The table below provides a general overview of the sustainable urban development and their key characteristics. The

selected case studies adhere to the “consistency” and “inconsistency” tables set out above in that they are consistent in terms of location and focus but they are inconsistent in terms of national planning, social and political contexts.

Sustainable urban development	Location	Number of Dwellings	Key characteristics	Type	Status
Vauban	Germany	2,000	Housing focused, mixed use, brownfield	Urban Extension	Finished
Hamburg (Hafencity)	Germany	5,500	Mixed use focus, large scale businesses, brownfield	Inner city urban regeneration	Ongoing
Kronsberg	Germany	6,000	Housing focused, small mixed use, social housing	Urban extension	Ongoing
Valdespartera	Spain	9,500	Social housing focused, brownfield site	Urban Regeneration	Finished
Sarriguren	Spain	5,577	Social housing focused, mixed use	Urban extension	Finished
22@	Spain	8,600	Mixed use focus, Business and Innovation, housing	Inner city urban regeneration	Ongoing
Adams Town	Ireland	10,000	Housing focused, mixed use	Urban extension	Ongoing
Hammarby	Sweden	11,000	Housing focused, shopping area	Inner city regeneration	Ongoing
Amersfort	Holland	20,000	Housing focused, mixed use with shopping centre	Urban extension	Ongoing

Table 5.7 - Sustainable urban development in Europe (selected case studies in grey)

The need for case studies in two different countries is not a prerequisite for this research but it does provide a level of international comparison that is helpful. Two cases were chosen

because of the in-depth nature of the research required and limitations of the research project in terms of time and resources. More case studies could have been chosen but this would have meant that the project would have had less detailed analysis and a higher budget. The two case studies chosen help to include different planning systems with different legal and cultural backgrounds. No English projects have been put forward at this stage because the English case study chapter is primarily orientated towards giving an overview of sustainable development processes throughout the country as well as providing a context against which to compare the other foreign case studies.

The two foreign case studies represent an important exploration of the development processes of sustainable urban development and the governance arrangements that brought them forward and allow what is described by Janssen-Jansen (2008) as lesson learning through inspiration.

Both foreign case studies will be explored in more detail in the following chapters but for the purposes of this chapter it is worthwhile providing a quick overview of each.

German Case Study:

Hafencity is a development that has been constructed in the former docklands area of Hamburg. It represents one of the biggest regeneration projects underway in Europe and covers approximately 157 hectares. The objective of the vision and strategy for the Hafencity area is to create a development with a mixture of uses including residential (5,800 units), commercial, retail and leisure. The area is located adjacent to the city centre of Hamburg and therefore represents an important extension of the inner city. The dockland location ensures that a considerable amount of the development will be along the waterfront. Development began in 2003 and is likely to continue until 2025.

Spanish Case Study:

22@ is a sustainable urban development located in a former industrial area of Barcelona called Poblenou. The name of the development was derived from the previous industrial designation of the land which was 22a (industrial land). 22@ is located in the south-eastern quadrant of the city and represents an important regeneration project for Barcelona both in terms of attracting businesses to the city but also in converting what was a previous industrial area that included a wide variety of obsolete and disused industrial buildings into a new sustainable development which will include business, housing, education and leisure uses. 22@ is put forward by the city council and its partners as a “new model of city” and the objective of the vision is to create a vibrant new development that will include a wide variety of uses and people. Construction has already begun with over 1,500 housing units already built and a wide variety of businesses have pledged to locate their offices in the new area. Innovation is a key theme for the development and this will be encouraged by creating links between education and research facilities and the businesses that are located within 22@.

The case studies represent examples of sustainable urban development and they have been chosen due to the fact that sustainability is prominent in their aspirations and planning visions and similarities in some key elements such as their brownfield locations and that they are all located in inner urban areas.

The two continental case studies have been selected specifically in connection with the nature of their planning contexts in mind and were chosen partly because they offer distinctly different perspectives from different planning system families. The German and Spanish case studies are based in the Germanic and Napoleonic planning families respectively. This ensures that a wider perspective on the development processes of

sustainable projects will be achieved because together with the English case study chapter, the research will include projects from three different planning families.

The two continental case studies also represent examples of sustainable urban development on a large scale where the focus has been on the need to create a new sustainable environment which will be integrated into an existing urban fabric. The philosophy of both projects, while slightly different, is focused on creating a vibrant, attractive, mixed use area which will enhance the status of the surrounding city. These types of sustainability objectives and how to produce them are the key to what this research is considering and as such the two continental case studies represent appropriate contexts.

5.7 Data Collection

The method of data collection associated with case study research design is, often, left to the researcher to establish. As case study research design does not stipulate the method of data collection, the selection of case studies and how the primary data is to be collected is left for the researcher to decide (Masser, 1986). As opposed to other research designs, much depends on the abilities of the researcher to ensure that the research is conducted in a consistent manner within the framework of the research structure. Feldman (1978) touches on this issue by highlighting that to his mind this element is the one of the main limitations in case study research designs. To this end, he highlights that a great deal of time and effort is required on behalf of the researcher to ensure that the research is undertaken properly but also that each case study is assessed with sufficient depth of knowledge in relation to the foreign culture in which it is housed.

For this research, data collection was based around both secondary and primary sources. The two case study projects are innovative so considerable amounts of literature was available from which to draw basic information. Similarly, information about the specific

planning systems as well as cultural, social and economic context of the countries was drawn from secondary sources. In particular, this included looking at national, regional and local planning policies with reference to sustainable urban development. Site specific planning policy was also addressed to gain an understanding about the vision for the site from the local authority perspective. The nature of the research questions and the analytical framework, however, was that much of the most important information was collected through interviews with key actors that were involved in the development process connected with a specific case study. This was carried out through the use of semi-structured interviews (e.g. in Appendix 1) that were recorded, transcribed and coded (e.g. in Appendix 2) using WAFT QDA software which cross referenced specific elements of the interviews with previously identified themes. Semi-structured interviews were chosen as a format due to the flexibility that they offer. While providing a clear guide in terms of issues that should be covered, semi-structured interviews also allow exploration of important contextual considerations especially in light of the changing national contexts.

A total of 20 interviews were conducted (either in English, German or Spanish depending on the interviewee) for each case study which, considering the level of detail and cross-section of actors required and the constraints in terms of time and budget, was considered appropriate. The 20 interviews were sufficient to be confident that a good understanding of the issues in all three case study locations was gained as well as meeting all the key stakeholders that were involved. Although more interviews could have been beneficial this would have resulted in more duplication of answers, especially as this was already starting to happen towards the end of each set of 20.

Each interview lasted 1.5 hours (in the case of the English case study 20 interviews were also conducted but were held with a variety of different actors who have general knowledge about the development processes used in England rather than interviewing people

associated with one particular project). This approach required several trips to the case study locations so as to be able to interview all the necessary individuals. This occurred on the following dates:

	Hamburg	Barcelona	England
First visit	13/11/11 – 18/11/11	15/04/12 – 20/04/12	24/06/12 -30/06/12
Second visit	18/02/12 - 29/02/12	22/04/12 - 26/04/12	Telephone Interviews

Table 5.8 – Timing of case study visits

The key actors that were interviewed included all those who took on a major role with a specific sustainable urban development. This included developers, landowners, local politicians, local authority planning officers, architects, financiers, builders, investors and local people who live in the development. From this array of people it was important to get an understanding of exactly how the development evolved and who took the leading role as well as power relations and the decision making process. By using this approach it was possible to establish the governance approaches, the type of development process used as well as the level of public consultation and local involvement in the project.

Table 5.9 below indicates the actors that were interviewed in the three different locations. The actors were either contacted directly through information gained through the internet or were recommended by other actors once some of the first interviews had taken place.

Germany	Spain	England
Academic 1	22@ Network	Academic 1
Academic 2	22@ BarcelonActiva	Academic 2
Architect 1	Academic 1	Architect 1
Community Group 1	Academic 2	Commercial Developer
Community Group 2	Academic 3	Design Quango
Property Developer 1	Academic Researcher	Property Developer 1
Property Developer 2	Architect 1	Property Developer 2
Property Developer 3	Architect 2	Development Agency Consultant
Property Developer 4	Architect 3	Economic Consultant 1
Development Agency	Artist Collective	Planning Consultant 1
Development Agency Social	BarcelonActiva	Local Authority Officer 1
Estate Agent 1	Barcelona 22@ S.L.	Local Authority Officer 2
Estate Agent 2	Infrastructure Officer	Local Authority Officer 3
Local Authority Energy	Property Developer 1	Local Authority Officer 4
Local Authority Strategy	Property Developer 2	Professional Body 1
Local Government Planner	Governance Consultant	Professional Body 2
Local School	Historic Environment Interest group	Property Consultant
Museum	Property Agent	Urban Design Consultant 1
On-site Hotel	Residents Association 1	Urban Regeneration Specialist
Sports Club	Technical Architects Association	Urbanism Specialist

Table 5.9 – Key interviews

5.8 Evaluation

The final step in the research process is the evaluation of the primary data that has been collected. Once again, care is required on the behalf of the researcher to ensure that proper evaluation takes place. Many research projects fail to achieve this final step and as such remain information gathering exercises. An effort must be made to ensure that a real comparison of case studies is undertaken where each case study refers to the others whenever possible (Masser, 1986).

At the evaluation stage of this project it will be vital to maintain perspective on the work being undertaken. The cross-national nature of the project means that the information gathered will need to be considered carefully before any conclusions are drawn. As has

been highlighted above, it is often very difficult to transport policy approaches from a donor country to a recipient country so a perspective of inspiration and learning should prevail rather than a transplantation of planning policy specifically.

5.9 Limitations

As with all research projects there are a number of limitations that need to be highlighted. The first of these relates to the selection of case studies as exemplar projects. In order to consider the development processes and governance arrangements a number of case studies needed to be selected. The selection of the case studies is a difficult process because their selection implies that they are examples in terms of sustainability. The aim of this research is not to assess the sustainability of different development nor is it an aim to compare one development with another in terms of its sustainability performance. The aim is to choose examples that clearly demonstrate a certain level of attention to sustainability principles and are still going through the development process. The case studies in this research reflect specific exemplar projects in their respective countries but this does not mean that they are the best per se. Nor can the research ensure that all the case studies attain the same level of sustainability credentials as each other. Some will be stronger in certain areas and weaker in others. As such the case studies are tools that will be used to gain an understanding of what processes are needed to create such development in specific European countries.

5.10 Conclusion

The methodology outlined above provides a good indication about how this study was carried out. In particular it shows how the research gap informed the research questions and then how those research questions have been answered with the use of an operational analytical framework. The cross-national nature of the study meant that case studies were the most appropriate manner in which to proceed with the research and these were then

duly chosen with regard to reducing the number of variables as much as possible. The data collection part of the research involved visiting the case study locations once or twice and the following chapters provide an in-depth analysis of these case studies and the actors that were involved in them.

CHAPTER 6 - CASE STUDY (HAFENCITY HAMBURG, GERMANY)

6.1 Introduction

This case study chapter is the first of two which will look specifically at an urban development project that has attempted to achieve a sustainable approach and end result. This specific chapter will consider the Hafencity project in Hamburg in Germany. As set out in the previous chapters this research will address issues of how the development process of the project is moving forward as well as considering all the various actors that were, and are, involved in the project and both the interaction between these actors and their relative power in taking decisions. These two case study chapters will therefore provide the context against which it is possible to compare the approaches that have been taken so far in England to achieve the same result.

6.2 The Context

The Hafencity development project is located in the central area of Hamburg City. Hamburg is the second biggest city in Germany after Berlin and has a population of 1.7 million and a larger metropolitan population of 4 million. Hamburg is located along the Elbe River and has the second biggest shipping port in Europe. The official name of the city is the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg which provides an indication of its independence from state control. Hamburg is a city state and one of 16 states in Germany. It is considered to be a wealthy city partly because of the industries that are located there. These include companies such as Airbus and a strong media network which includes Norddeutsche Rundfunk and the Spiegel. Quality of life indicators have generally placed Hamburg high in the rankings with the latest assessment being 10th in the world. Tourism also plays an important part in the Hamburg economy as the city attracts considerable numbers of tourists both nationally and internationally (Frundt, 2003).



Figure 6.1 (above) and 6.2 (below) – Hamburg and the context (Source: Hafencity Hamburg GmbH, 2011)

History of Hamburg

The city of Hamburg was originally called Treva but then was renamed Hamburg in AD808. Since that point Hamburg has prospered but also suffered several set backs including major fires in 1284 and 1842. More recently during the Second World War, Hamburg suffered considerable damage due to Allied bombing raids which also caused significant civilian loss of life (Frundt, 2003).

The port, established in 1189, has been one of the main ports for central Europe for centuries and it was partly due to the port that Hamburg became such an affluent city. As ships became larger there was a requirement for bigger births but the existing port could not be expanded so the Hamburg government decided to develop a new port with deeper and larger births so as to accommodate the bigger ships. This led to a situation where the old port area could be redeveloped for alternative uses.

The Economics of Hamburg

Hamburg is an affluent city with a GDP in the region of 71 million euros. It has one of the highest number of millionaires with approximately a dozen people with assets valued over 100 million euros.

“On the private side there is a lot of money and many millionaires.”

Local Government Planner

There are also 20,000 people whose annual income is over 500,000 euros per year (Frundt, 2003). The majority of these people live in the Elbhang area of the city. The vast majority of the working population work in the service sector. There are also high numbers who work in jobs connected to trade, media (especially publishers), information technology and banking.

Hamburg also acts like a magnet and attracts about 300,000 people who commute into the city everyday from the surrounding area (Frundt, 2003).

“I think it (Hamburg) is very proactive because it tries to attract investors quite aggressively but this might not be a universal approach across Germany”

Local Government Planner

The current economic strategy for the city is based around the idea of clusters. These clusters include a number of differing but vital industries for Hamburg and include the following:

Economic Clusters	Description
Media and IT	Hamburg has an important cluster of media and IT companies. Hamburg@work is an organisation that helps to promote this cluster in the city and create contacts and networks that allow this sector of the city's economy to flourish.
Aviation	Hamburg has a long history connected with the aviation industry. Other than Hamburg airport itself, large aviation companies are located in the Hamburg region such as Airbus, Lufthansa Technik and the A380 is also being constructed in Hamburg. Jobs connected with aviation have steadily been rising over the years reaching 39,000 in 2010.
Life Science	The Life Science Nord cluster was established in 1996 in response to a national Bioregional competition. Since then this cluster has been able to bring together many organisations that work in similar disciplines.
Logistics	This cluster was set up in 2006 and involves the grouping of logistics companies that operate in Hamburg. Due to the large port area in the city logistics are an important element of the city's economy. The network helps and supports logistics companies in the region and seeks to ensure that Hamburg remains one of the best locations for such businesses.
Creative Sector	This is one of the youngest clusters in the city as it was only established in 2010. The importance of the creative sector to the economy can not be underestimated and Hamburg is seeking to ensure that creative people are welcome in the city and that they have the opportunity to start businesses and create business contacts.
Renewable Energies	The renewable energies cluster is another new addition to the clusters in Hamburg. This cluster was established in 2011 and allows companies from the

	clean energy sector to interact and work together more effectively. 140 companies have already joined this cluster, most of which focus on wind, solar and biomass technology.
Maritime Industry	The maritime cluster was established in 2011 and is a network of companies that are focused on shipbuilding and ship suppliers. The geographical location of Hamburg has obvious benefits for this cluster and the new networking will ensure that Hamburg remains a location for ship building companies.
Healthcare	The healthcare cluster was established in 2009 and helps those within the healthcare sector to connect and innovate together. Hamburg has one of the highest doctor to patient ratios and Hamburg intends to extend this important sector through this healthcare sector.

Table 6.1 - Hamburg's economic clusters (Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, 2011a)

The Spatial Strategy of Hamburg

The spatial strategy of Hamburg is based, like many other cities, around the idea of ensuring economic growth and environmental protection and enhancement. The spatial strategy was created in 2007 with the aim to focus on development objectives up to 2020. The name of the strategic vision is “Metropolis Hamburg – Growing City” (Free Hanseatic City of Hamburg, 2007) which links back to the idea that Hamburg is expected to grow quite significantly over the next decade.



Figure 6.3 – Overview of Hamburg City and surrounding areas (Source: Hafencity Hamburg GmbH, 2011)

The spatial strategy has five key objectives which includes the following (Free Hanseatic City of Hamburg, 2007):

1) More city in the city

This objective refers to the fact that land in inner city locations should be used effectively. This is especially the case with land that was previously used for port, railway or post activities. There is an emphasis with this objective to ensure that Hamburg uses all the land it has to ensure that employment and new residential areas are created in the city.

2) Building on qualities – a home in a family friendly Hamburg

This objective highlights that there is a trend for people to move back into the city and while this is often possible for the single people and young couples it should also be possible for families. The strategy highlights that on current predictions Hamburg city will need to accommodate an extra 80,000 new people which translates into 60,000 new households. This, in turn, means that 5000-6000 new dwellings need to be constructed every year. It is suggested that these should be located in areas that have good access to public transport and other services.

3) Using expertise – boosting the region's economy

The economy of Hamburg is focused around a variety of key sectors. The strategy highlights that in order to ensure the continued economic growth of Hamburg it will be necessary to provide a considerable amount of land for sectors such as the port and logistics to expand. The logistics sector is expected to expand considerably with 14,000 new employees by 2015.

4) The Hamburg city experience

Hamburg is a city with many different attractions and is well known for its waterfront location. The spatial strategy highlights that it is important that visitors to the city have a good impression and there should be a focus on making the entrance points into the city such as the main roads, the airport and ship terminals as attractive as possible. There is also mention of key locations within the city, one of which is the Hafencity and the Elbphilharmonie that need to be protected and enhanced so as to give the visitor the best experience possible.

5) The metropolis is city and region

The fifth main aim of the spatial strategy is to develop cross regional connections with areas that surround Hamburg. It is hoped that this approach will make Hamburg more competitive and attract more investment. This should be specifically focused towards helping growth industries set up in the wider region but also support the marketing of the area on an international level (Free Hanseatic City of Hamburg, 2007).

The Speicherstadt and Hafencity

The history of the Hafencity area of Hamburg is closely connected to that of the port and the Speicherstadt. The Speicherstadt is located directly north of the Hafencity and south of the city centre and was used for the storage of products that were transported by sea. This area suffered considerable damage during the Second World War but some of the original structures can still be seen today. It has recently been completely redeveloped and now houses the Hanseatic Trade Centre as well as other office uses.

Hafencity is located slightly further south on land previously used for port related activities and is directly in contact with the Elbe River. The aim of the development is to create a sustainable district with housing, offices, culture, tourism and shopping. The new development once completed in 2020 will extend the city centre by 40%. It has a total size

of 155 hectares and should provide up to 20,000 jobs, 5,500 apartments and have 10,000 to 12,000 inhabitants (Hafencity Hamburg GmbH, 2011a).

6.3 The Hafencity Plan

An original masterplan was produced in 2000 which provided the general vision for the Hafencity. The masterplan depicts the physical layout of the development as well as providing an indication of the type of uses envisaged. The masterplan is considered to be an iterative document or framework that allows a degree of flexibility as the process moves forward. Indeed, in 2010 the masterplan was changed considerably because of alterations that were necessary for the eastern sections of the site. The reasons for these changes were in part attributable to the current economic climate where a shift from commercial uses to residential uses ensures that viability can be achieved because of the continuing demand for housing in Hamburg (Hafencity Hamburg, 2006).



Figure 6.4 – The Hafencity Masterplan (Source: Hafencity Hamburg GmbH, 2011)

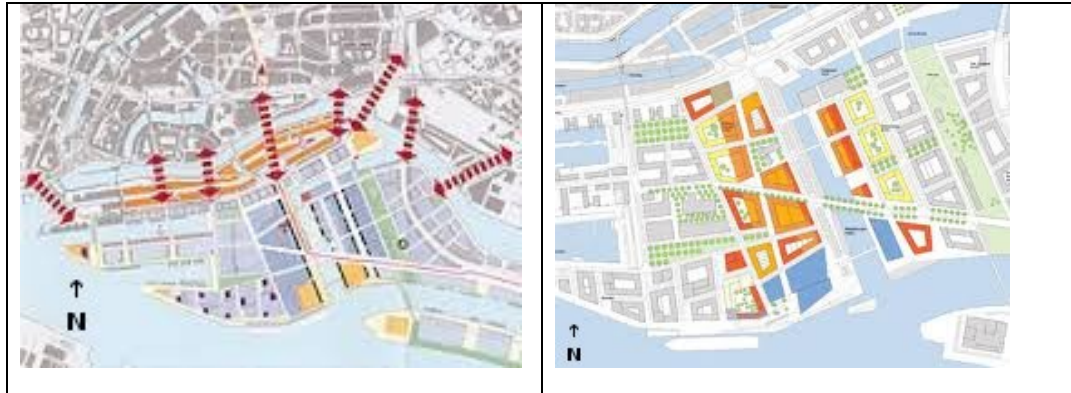


Figure 6.5 and 6.6 – Masterplan Details (Source: Hafencity Hamburg GmbH, 2011)

Each of the masterplan districts has a different type of emphasis whether this is residential, office uses or commercial uses. The masterplan does, however, remain firmly committed to mixed use development throughout so no area of the plan is mono-functional. Highlights of the site include the Elbphilharmonie Concert Hall which has yet to be finished and has been controversial because of spiralling costs, the International Maritime Museum and a Science Centre which is doubtful because of funding issues. Social and educational uses have also been included such as a Primary school with daycare, the Hafencity University which will focus on the built environment professions. Hafencity has not received any funding from either the national government (other than for the construction of the new underground line) or the European Union (OECD, 2010). The social infrastructure has been financed by the various ministries in Hamburg.

Hafencity has been successful in attracting large scale business to the area including Spiegel, Germanischer Lloyd and Unilever. There are a whole host of other smaller businesses such as galleries, coffee shops, gift shops, restaurants and small supermarkets that are also located in Hafencity as well. These businesses have either been relocated from other areas of Hamburg or they are completely new businesses that have been attracted to the amenities of the Hafencity project.

Residential and retail uses also represent an important element of the project with most ground floor areas available for retail use. This ties-in with the urban design theory (Jacobs, 1961) of making streets as vibrant and safe as possible through active ground floor uses. In many new projects the occupancy rates of such units are low or at least difficult to fill in the initial stages of the project but in this case there seems to have been the demand to ensure that such units are occupied and therefore bring an immediate liveliness to the area. Residential uses are those that are in the highest demand at the moment, a topic that will be returned to later.



Figure 6.7 - The Hafencity masterplan and its ten districts

6.4 Networks and Coalitions

As set out in the theoretical framework (Coaffee & Healey, 2003) an important part of understanding development processes are the issues connected to urban governance (Beauregard, 1996; Stoker, 1995; Stone, 1989; Healey, 2004). This includes networks (Moulaert & Cabaret, 2006), power relationships (Stein & Harper, 2003) and partnerships (Elander, 2002) between the main key actors. The essence of this project to understand the governance arrangements and the power relationships between the different actors that are connected with large scale regeneration projects. For this reason it is important to look more

closely at the governance arrangements in Hamburg as well as the different actors that were involved and how they interacted between each other.

The structure of the governance arrangements in Germany is based around a federal system which allows considerable flexibility for the regional governments to make their own choices. The fact that Hamburg is a city and federal region in itself ensures that Hamburg has a high level of control over its approach to many political issues and that includes issues of planning, economic growth and development (Kunzmann, 2001; Schmidt, 2007; Schmidt, 2009).

“Germany is a Federal Republic. Hamburg is a city and a Federal State which means that it has extra power and control. We are both the urban planning department and a ministry. We have a preparatory land use plan and binding land use plan. For the Hafencity we work together with the Hafencity Hamburg GmbH and normally the Hafencity will invite proposals and then the city is invited to give their opinion. Here in the city authority we have a Hafencity team which deals with Hafencity and the Speicherstadt.”

Local Government Planner

As opposed to the situation in the UK where most power is held centrally, the context for Hamburg is one in which the city authority has the power and confidence to deliver large scale developments by undertaking the necessary work and investments at the beginning of the project and then remaining the leading actor as the project continues (Kreutz, 2007).

“Well, yes I think it works quite differently to the situation in the UK. We could never have the situation you had with London Docklands which was organised from central government. The cities in Germany do have considerable control and will always say what is going to happen.”

Local Government Planner

Hamburg city council together with the development corporation that it set up have a strong control over the development process of Hafencity. They are in a position, through their planning powers and their land holdings (see landownership below) to ensure that the development moves forward in accordance with the public sector vision and the established masterplan. The whole process is plan-led rather than market sector led and it is clear that the private sector must fit into these arrangements if they want to share in the success of the project.

In order to understand more about the governance and power relations that exist in Hamburg each of the main actors will now be considered in more detail. This will provide a clearer understanding of both the role of each of the actors but also the interaction and networks between them.

Main Actor 1: Hafencity Hamburg GmbH

The development corporation that operates on the site is called Hafencity Hamburg GmbH. This organisation is a key element of the Hafencity project and is important in understanding the development process that operates on the site. Hafencity Hamburg GmbH is a private company but it is publicly owned. It was created by the city authorities because it was felt that a development corporation would be better at handling the issue of selling land to developers and achieving the results as set out in the masterplan. Hafencity Hamburg GmbH works in close collaboration with the city's planning authority and the development

market. It has a board that includes 5 ministers who need to be consulted about key decisions that the organisation needs to take. The development corporation has considerable power but planning approval, for example, remains with the city authority.

The table below provides an indication of Hafencity Hamburg's responsibilities as well as the responsibilities of the main organisations around it:

City State of Hamburg		Public/public sector Hafencity Hamburg GmbH (wholly-owned state of Hamburg subsidiary)	Private Sector
1)	Provides public guidance	1) Acts as land owner: special asset "city and port", finances all its activities from land sales	1) Private and institutional developers and investors: Development of individual sites, exception of central quarter where a guided area development takes place by a private consortium
2)	Prepares and grants: development plans, urban design (guidelines), building permits	2) Activities: master developer, development planning, plans and builds infrastructure, plans and builds public spaces, acquires investors, property sales, organises communication marketing	
3)	State Commissions approvals: development plans, land sales or acquisition		
4)	Finances and builds partly as public-private joint venture: schools, university, concert hall, science centre, subway		
5)	Finances and builds external infrastructure linkages		

Table 6.2 – Main actors in Hafencity and their responsibilities (OECD, 2010)

More specifically Hafencity Hamburg GmbH needs to carry out the following:

- Market and sell municipally owned real estate in Hafencity
- Attract investors and buyers, providing all the necessary assistance
- Develop the location for residential use , service industries and leisure amenities
- Co-ordinate all planning and construction projects
- Plan and implement land development
- Manage and administer funds used for the development of Hafencity
- Co-operate with the relevant Hamburg authorities directly and indirectly with parliamentary committees
- Location marketing, public relations and citizen involvement

(OECD, 2010)

As can be seen from the type of responsibilities that the development agency has, there is considerable emphasis placed on the duties of the Hafencity Hamburg GmbH. It is very clear that Hafencity Hamburg GmbH is the organisation that needs to engage with the private sector and create interest in order to attract developers. It is an organisation that has considerable financial influence as it is in full control of the fund (special assets - city and port) that owns all the land within the development site. It has the ability to use this fact to ensure that the very best development comes forward on the site and that the city achieves the objectives it has set out for itself.

“I believe that it (the development agency) is very important and to be honest I don’t think it could have been done any other way. I think there are so many things to think about when you are dealing with such a big development that you need to have a development agency to coordinate everything and generally I think most projects of this size in Europe do have a

development agency. Of course from our point of view as a developer it is very useful to have one point of contact and this point of contact is the HCH (Hafencity Hamburg)”

Property Developer 1

Hafencity Hamburg GmbH has been put in place purely to ensure that a smooth process is established and that the city is able to deal with demands of private developers effectively. Many of those that work for the development agency have considerable amount of experience in the development sector especially in the private sector (OECD, 2010) which means that the organisation can speak “the same language” as those that are seeking to engage with it. This can have a number of benefits such as increased efficiency as well as ensuring that the city has representatives that are well informed of the market situation.

“It is very important to highlight that the people who work in the HCH come from the private market and do not see themselves as civil servants. This is an important point because they know the private market very well and also react in a way which is much more close to the way things are done in the private sector. In addition to this they also are a little freer in their actions than if they were directly employed by the city authority. This of course brings lots of advantages for both the city and the developers that are working on the site.”

Property Developer 1

The fact that the development agency has control of the special asset fund and is the main land owner ensures that the Hafencity Hamburg has considerable control of what happens. As it starts to sell sites and thereby increase the size of the fund it can use this extra cash to market and promote other development sites within Hafencity. It can also fund infrastructure projects that are required to release further areas of the Hafencity project. This ability and power can prove important when seeking to create a comprehensive masterplan.

“Hafencity is also a planners dream because you really do have influence as a planner. I have spoken with a number of people from the HCH and they have told me that they really do have a lot of control over the private investors and if there are details that have not been done properly with a development the HCH can come along and say “you need to do that again, it is not right”. It is for those reasons why Hafencity is a planners dream, they have control.”

Academic 1

Figure 3 below shows the main types of organisations that the Hafencity Hamburg GmbH needs to deal with. As can be seen the three main connections are the private sector, the senate and the city state parliament. This is understandable because the main element of the Hafencity Hamburg's work is to attract and organise development on the site. This would imply that a strong connection to the private sector would be required, dealing with issues such as the sale of land and assessment of development proposals. This, of course, can not be done unilaterally and therefore, as the other arrows indicate, there has to be a strong level of communication both with the senate and the parliament as these are important in ensuring that proposals have political support. The other main connections are those with the existing local authority departments such as the ministry for development and environment as well as others such as finance, economy, culture, science and education.

As can be seen from the diagram below other types of collaboration were also created ensuring that the Hafencity Hamburg was fully engaged with many differing interest groups.

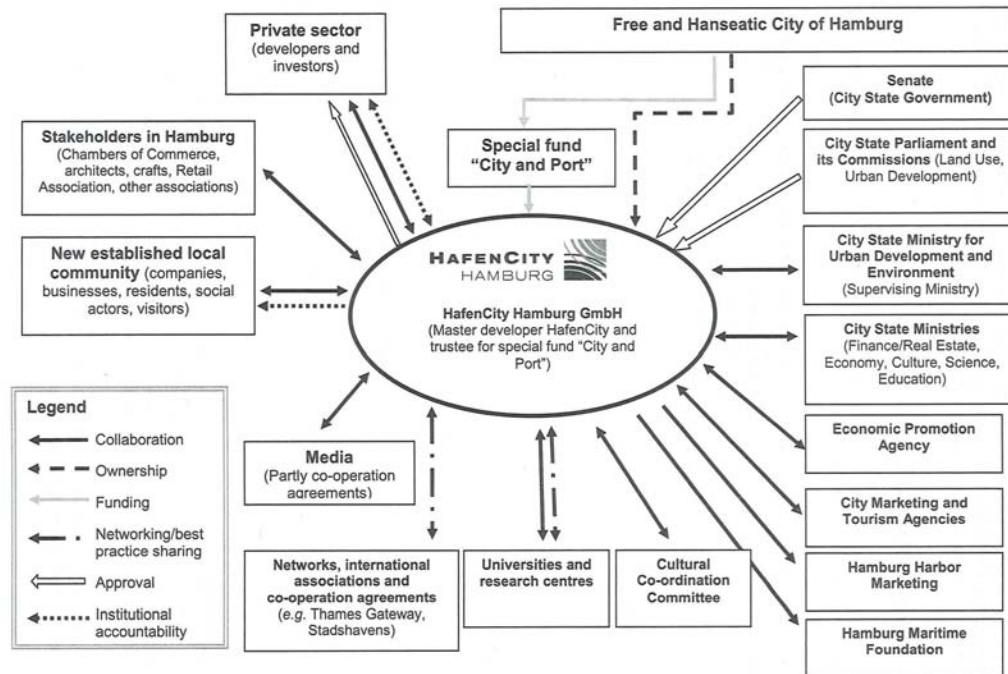


Figure 6.8 -The interconnections between Hafencity Hamburg GmbH and other organisations (OECD, 2010)

Main Actor 2: The City Authority

As opposed to the Hafencity Hamburg GmbH, the city authority has a more traditional role in helping development move forward. In order to deal with the high variety of issues that were likely to arise from the Hafencity project, the city authority created a specific Hafencity team. This team carries out the statutory requirements of the city such as authorising planning permission but at the same time is involved in every step of the process up to the point when the a planning application is made. This means that city authorities are present at all meetings including the architectural competitions for individual sites and have the ability to vote in a panel made up of a variety of different interest groups.

One of the key elements that this team carries out is the creation of a "Bebauungsplan" which is a plan that is site specific and legally binding.

“Bebauungsplans are quite specific plans which give a lot of detail about what can be built and the exact shape of the building but it can also provide information about the exact requirements for energy use as well. There are various phases of creating a Bebauungsplan and at the beginning of the process we are involved with the thinking connected to a Bebauungsplan and we are asked whether we think the Bebauungsplan should be created or not and if so we are asked to provide some requirements in connection with energy use of the building.”

Local Authority Planning Officer (Energy)

“We have a planning system which is based around the “bebauungsplan” which basically gives a very clear indication about what can be built on a certain piece of land and therefore the bebauungsplan is our bible and we need to refer to it all the time. The bebauungsplan even needs to go through a public consultation process so when it is established it is very clear for all to see what can be built and what can’t. This reduces the risk for developers.”

Architect 1

This plan is created at the same time as the urban design frameworks for each of the 10 sections of the masterplan. From these plans it becomes very clear what the local authority is expecting on a certain piece of land and because it is legally binding developers know that if they propose a development that is in accordance with the Bebauungsplan they will be given permission. This has a number of implications one of which is the reduction of risk for the developer because it does not use a discretionary system as is the case in the UK.



Figure 6.9 – An example of a Bebauungsplan (Hafencity Hamburg, 2011a)

Main Actor 3: Developers

The private sector approach towards a development will always have a significant bearing on how the development is taken forward and ultimately how successful it will be.

Developers, it seems, have a positive approach to Hafencity as a whole. They feel that they can make profit but also that the process that is in place is one that works and reduces risk where possible. The requirement to only pay for the plot when construction is about to begin is an example of this, as is the very nature of the development agency. Developers feel they have an organisation they can go to and interact with directly and very importantly speaks the same “language” they do. Approaching a city authority in the same way is considered by many developers as an impossibility.

This brings forward a situation where developers and the trust funds behind them feel comfortable investing in Hafencity. They have a framework within which to work and communication is easy because it is with other fellow professionals that have also worked in the private sector.

It is interesting to note the variety of organisations involved in Hafencity is considerable. Not only are the vast majority of developers different, the architects that are involved are also different. The effect of this can be seen clearly on the ground in the sections, such as this one, where development has already been completed. The diversity of architecture and approach is achieved to such an extent that would be difficult for an individual organisation to manage. This diversity is, at the same time, kept in check by the overarching masterplan which ensures that individual buildings adhere to universal rules such as setbacks and heights. Theme park architecture is avoided by the use of architectural competitions which ensure that a consistency in architectural approach is achieved. The only section of the development that veers away from this approach is the Uberseequartier which is managed by a single developer.

It is clear to see that there are a variety of different developers that are operating in Hafencity and it is important to have an understanding of the different types of residential developers that exist as they differ considerably as to what might be expected in the UK.

The first model of developer is the type that is considered to be completely private. In this case the developer is an organization that submits a proposal, buys the land and then constructs a building which will be sold to private individuals. This is the type of model that is commonly used in the UK but is not as prevalent in Germany partly because owning a property especially in Hamburg can be extremely expensive and therefore out of reach for many.

The second type of developer is called a “Baugemeinschaft”. This is a group of people who decide that they would like to have more control over the type of building that they would like to live in and therefore form a group and try to build a block of flats together. The collective normally employs an architect to deal with the more technical elements of the process but the individuals have a strong influence both over the design of their individual flat but also the general appearance of the building. Once the building is complete each individual owns their specific flat.

“A ‘Baugemeinschaft’ is a group of people who want to develop their own property and these groups of people normally need to have an architect and that is when we come in. Once the whole process has finished and the building has been built each of the individual people who have been involved in the project get their property and become the official owners. This process is normally quite cost effective because there are no investors and no middle men so the properties can be developed relatively cheaply. So these types of projects are quite different to the ones that have been done by developers in the Hafencity but because of the advantages of this system there are quite a few “Baugemeinschaften” in the Hafencity area and they are becoming more popular and common.”

Architect 1

The third type of developer is a “Baugenossenschaft”. This is an organization that acts as a communal landlord and normally owns lots of different properties around the city and rents them out to individuals who have joined their organization as a member. The benefit of becoming a member is that you can rent an apartment at a lower rental price than you would otherwise find on the open market. The longer you have been a member of the organization the more options you are given in terms of which flat you can chose.

The last type of residential developer is the social housing developer. This is not a model that has been used much up until now in Hafencity but is likely to become more common as the development progresses eastwards.

6.5 Discourses: Sustainability and the Development Process

As highlighted by the theoretical framework (Coaffee & Healey, 2003) the most important discourses for this project revolve around sustainable development (Cullingworth et al, 2006; Neass, 2001) and the exact nature of the development processes (Healey, 1991). The first part of this section will consider issues of sustainability in its three guises and the second will look at the development processes that were used in Hamburg bringing together an appreciation about how sustainability was integrated into the wider development process mechanisms.

Sustainability

Urban sustainability remains the main paradigm for the planning of cities of the future (Cullingworth et al, 2006; Neass, 2001) but while sustainability can be understood in many different ways it is important to consider here the three core pillars which include environmental, social and economic sustainability. If sustainability is the key objective for urban development we need to start to understand what type of relationship between development processes/governance arrangements and urban sustainability exists and while that is outside the remit of this research it is none the less important to consider.

Environmental Sustainability

Hamburg has long been concerned with environmental protection. Its recent successful application to become the European Green Capital 2011 was partly based on the fact that Hamburg has a long history of seeking to ensure that environmental issues are dealt with seriously and at the highest level. This should not be much of a surprise given that green

issues have for long been emphasised in Germany which can be seen through the relative strength of the Green party in the country.

Apart from the cultural interest for preserving the environment, Hamburg has consistently been successful in reducing its CO₂ emissions from 1990 onwards and recently introduced its Climate Action Plan (Free Hanseatic City of Hamburg, 2011b) which is running from 2007-2012. The aim of the plan is to ensure that this reduction in CO₂ continues and in particular focuses on:

- 1) energy supply
- 2) energy savings
- 3) renewable energy
- 4) increasing energy efficiency
- 5) energy networks
- 6) adaptation to climate change
- 7) modernisation of buildings
- 8) industry and plant technology
- 9) role model function of Hamburg's administration
- 10) mobility
- 11) research for climate change
- 12) Communication of climate change and awareness raising
- 13) National and international cooperation
- 14) Evaluation and monitoring

In addition to this, the way in which the Hafencity project has been developed also adheres to sustainability objectives. As has been highlighted previously, Hafencity includes a variety of different uses ranging from residential and commercial to retail and leisure. This mixture

of uses together with the fine grain nature of the urban structure provides an environment where the distance between uses is minimised and therefore trip distances become walkable. This close-knit built environment therefore helps to promote sustainable movement patterns.

This push towards sustainable modes of transport is further supported by the transport infrastructure that will be established within the site. This includes a variety of services including a new underground line (U4) which will have a number of different stops within the site. Other than this, there will also be a “climate friendly gas station” where public buses will be able to refill as well as a network of cycle paths that will allow people to have easy access the city centre by using a bike.

Thermal energy is a predominant focus for Hafencity and will be used throughout the site. All the buildings that have been built on the western section of the site are already connected to a thermal heating system which uses a variety of sources such as fuel-cell technology, geothermal energy and solar thermal energy.

“Of course the land is brownfield land so it is sustainable in that way. On the other hand of course because the land needed to be raised which was very expensive the land prices are high so some people might say that that is not sustainable. Traffic and public transport of course is part of sustainability as well. There will be two underground stops in Hafencity but of course that comes at a high cost.”

Academic 2

As for the buildings themselves, the Hafencity development has created its own set of standards with regard to sustainability. The standards that have been created are a so called “Ecolabel” that can be either gold or silver. These labels are awarded to specific

buildings on the development site according to their sustainability performance. The decision to create these “labels” was that during the early phases of the project there was no specific way in which to measure the sustainability of buildings within German legislation. The labels provided a way for both the city authority and the Hafencity Hamburg GmbH to measure the sustainability of individual buildings and exert influence and pressure where required. The label has helped to bring sustainability issues to the fore and ensure that the environment is considered from the beginning of the process rather than just at the end (Hafencity Hamburg, 2010).

Indeed, the fact that the “labels” are awarded is considered by many companies on the site as a good marketing opportunity to show that they are committed to the environment. It is partly for this reason that many of the companies have taken to ensuring that they achieve high environmental standards.

“In the larger sense it is sustainable for sure because you are converting brownfield land into a new part of Hamburg. So that is sustainable in the larger sense. Of course if you look at the sustainability of the buildings there are differences between the buildings with some performing better than others but that is normal in a development like this.”

Property Developer 4

Clearly the development process, which is focused around public sector leadership, has had an important part to play in ensuring that the private sector take environmental sustainability seriously. The fact that the public sector has ultimate control and can assess the projects as they come forward has a huge benefit and can push developers to be more innovative. The planning system also pushes developers in the right direction because they have much less risk to deal with than in other planning systems so they often can consider innovative and sustainable approaches to environmental sustainability.

Social Sustainability

Within the context of German planning legislation public participation is an important element of the planning process and Hafencity is no exception (Free and Hanseatic City Hamburg, 2011). Despite being an empty brownfield site many public consultation events were organised both before the construction process began and also as the construction process continues. These events have obviously become more important as more people begin to live in Hafencity and need to be able to express their ideas and opinions about the general approach and progress of the project.

Community issues are, however, not only being considered by the city authorities. Hafencity Hamburg GmbH has a community officer. This is an innovative approach in Germany. The community officer provides the community with someone who can respond to their concerns and bring these concerns to the attention of managers and politicians within the organisation. The officer also acts as an enabler by trying to help people help themselves. This involves being a catalyst to help establish community groups such as a sports club or parents group.

“I think you know about the first steps of the project and we had the masterplan in 2000 and we did some workshops with the Hamburg public and those were meetings where the plans were presented and you had the chance to ask questions but they were quite symbolic. There were other workshops as well with investors which were a little more interesting. After the first steps they started a process of place-making with cultural projects and discussion events so to put Hafencity on the mental map of the Hamburgers. Then the first residents came to Hafencity in 2004 and with the first residents came the first conflicts. Suddenly you had local actors so the discussion changed quite a lot because these people really had an interest which was not the case before. So communication became an important issue and

the HCH started to think carefully about how that communication could be structured. So in order to do this they started to do some research about the social elements of Hafencity. After the research they decided to employ a sociologist to communicate with the local residents which is very unusual for a development agency. So then we decided to intensify the communication with the residents through things like the welcome packs which was given to all new residents here in Hafencity. We also created residents meetings with 150 people turning up and the residents often would say that they feel like pioneers.”

Development Agency

The local community of Hafencity is “in progress”. More and more people are starting to live in the new neighbourhood and community groups have established themselves already. This includes sports groups that organise sporting events in the local area and parents groups who help each other with childcare. One example of community innovation is a parents group that was able to work with the development agency to provide a play area dedicated to small children. This area which is located directly opposite the Unilever building is now run by parents for other parents with young children. This is a small example but it shows how the local community is engaging with the development process and making its needs known.

A number of community services have been established within Hafencity such as the Katherinen primary school and kindergarten which help to support the families living in the area. Indeed the number of families in Hafencity is now at a similar level to other districts in the city at 11.5%. Further schools and kindergartens are envisaged as the development progresses (OECD, 2010).

Other social sustainability elements include open green areas within the development as well as active ground floor uses that allow local shops to establish themselves. It is both of

these areas where there have been slightly more difficulties to overcome. Certainly the masterplan of Hafencity has identified a number of areas that are designated for open space and one of the key elements of the design strategy was to ensure that all waterfront areas would remain publicly accessible. The density of the development, however, has meant that green open space is still minimal and will remain so until a large park is established later in the process. This level of density and lack of green open space has led some to believe that the density of the development is too high and that there was an overemphasis on the financial elements of the project as opposed to the livability of the area.

The active ground floor uses were a key element of the masterplan strategy and a high proportion of buildings in Hafencity have this characteristic. This approach is one which seeks to create a lively and interesting urban environment where people can go shopping on foot and have no need to use private transportation. Of those units which have been provided there are a substantial number that have been occupied and now are open for business. This suggests that a mixed use dynamic has been established and that the area is starting to operate like a sustainable neighbourhood. Indeed, recently one of these units has been occupied by a supermarket which was seen as important to the local community. Other than this, however, the retail and restaurants that have established themselves could be considered to cater to the higher end of the market and are not affordable and many people still do much of their shopping in the city centre. The social sustainability of such patterns is obviously questionable but also difficult to control as the units are expensive to rent and are rented on the open market where any organisation can become a tenant.

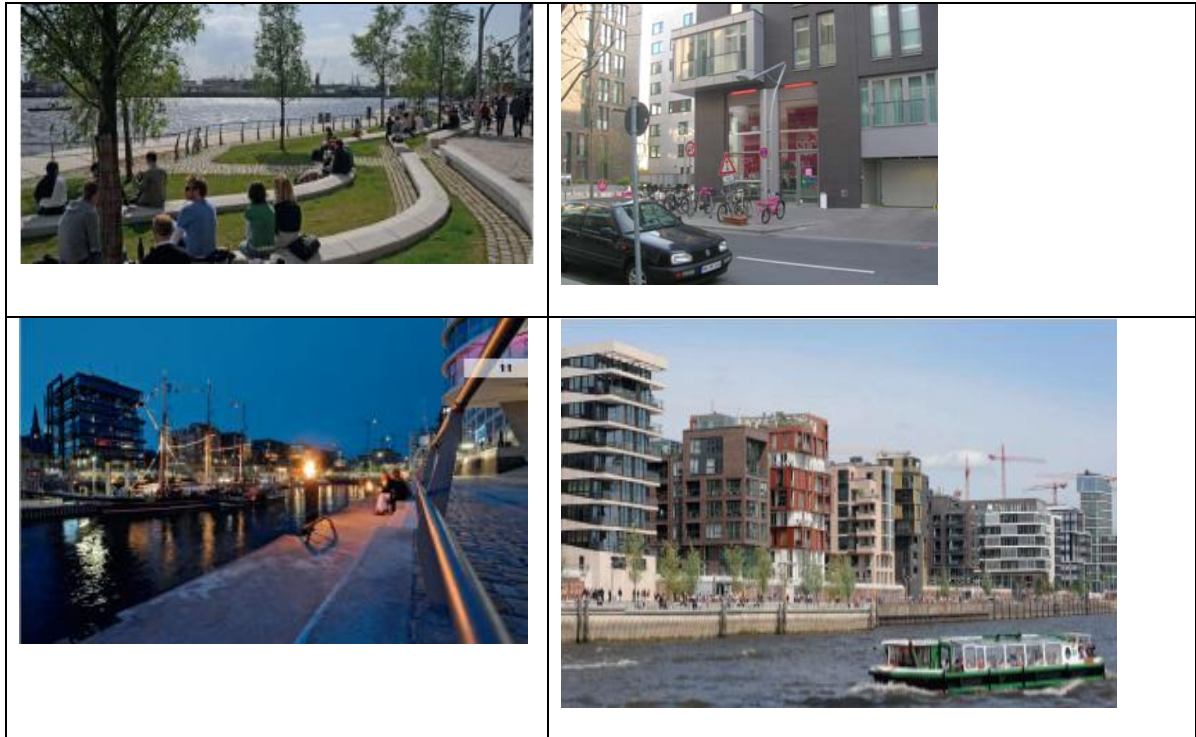


Figure 6.10 – Green spaces and active ground floor uses in Hafencity (Source: Author & Hafencity Hamburg, 2011a)

Of all the social sustainability issues however, the one that stands out is the lack of social housing in the first few sections of the development. This has happened for a number of reasons. Firstly, the cost of land within the project has been relatively high. This is partly to do with the location of the site which is adjacent to the Elbe and therefore commands a premium because of the proximity of the waterfront. In addition to this, however, the land needed quite a lot remediation work before it was offered to developers and therefore the land prices needed to reflect this.

With developers needing to pay relatively high prices for the land there was a general approach for developers to suggest private up market developments so as to ensure that they could sell the apartments at a premium and therefore recoup the land value and make

a profit at the same time. Suggesting lower value developments would not have been a viable option in many cases.

“One of the key problems is the social elements of the project which is focused mainly on affluent people. This is obviously a problem and it is made worse by people coming in at the early stages and buying property and then selling it for a lot more 2 years later. So, yes there is a real need for social housing.”

Academic 2

“The weaknesses of the project in terms of sustainability is the lack of social mix. This is due to the high building and land costs. This is the case at the moment but hopefully as the project moves forward there will be more of a mixture as the development extends east.”

Local Government Planner

In addition to this, there was no perceived need for social housing in the city when the Hafencity project started so from the political side there was no emphasis placed on this point. Since then, the situation has changed and there is now the recognition that social housing is needed and will be included more systematically as the development moves eastwards.

Others disagree that the development is only suitable for the upper and upper middle classes by pointing to a number of different “Baugenossenschaften” (see below for definition) that allow lower and middle class social groups to work and live in the area.

“Well I think that is not really correct because there are three “Baugenossenschaften” along this street so there is certainly a social mix. I think there is a real mix in this area.”

Estate Agent 1

"I think the people here have normal jobs and there is a good mix of people. So no I don't think this is a place just for affluent people. Of course it depends what you are talking about because of course there is very expensive private housing but if you are talking about "Baugenossenschaften" then they are not that expensive."

Community Group 1

Some questions therefore remain about the social sustainability of the Hafencity project but once again it is important to consider the impact of the development process and governance arrangements on this element. Once again the strong control of the development process ensures that the city can keep a close eye on the type of development that comes forward especially in connection with land use concepts such as active ground floor levels and a mixture of uses. The development corporation has also played an active role in ensuring that social groups establish themselves early on and these groups can then actively participate as the project moves forward.

Economic Sustainability

With the economic crisis it might be natural to assume that the market situation must have changed substantially over the past few years and that market factors must be inhibiting progress considerably. While this is true to a certain extent, it does not reflect the situation completely. The Hafencity project did benefit to a wide degree because of the market situation before 2008 and projects were pushed through on a wave of optimism that does not exist now. Progress of the first elements of the masterplan was surprisingly quick and this level of progress went a long way to ensuring the success of the Hafencity project. The situation now is considerably different but not as different as may be expected.

"It (the crisis) does not seem to have made that much difference but it is very difficult to put your finger on any specific changes. One of the things that is evident however is that there is far less office development being built at the moment and that the development sector is far more interested in building apartments."

Local Government Planner

"Well, generally things are going quite well. The market has not been affected that much by the crisis and certainly housing development is still very strong because there is a lot of demand for housing. Office development is a little more uncertain."

Estate Agent 1

In Hamburg as a whole the office/commercial market has certainly been affected with demand lower than previously and therefore less office space is being built at the moment. Despite this, 2012 does not represent the worst moment in terms of office rental. When considering office take-up a low point was reached in 2009 but in 2011 office take-up had already returned to 2007 levels. In other words while the crisis did affect office take-up in the early stages this loss has now been regained. Vacancy rates for office use are also falling after a peak in 2010. (Grossman & Berger, 2011a)

The average price in the 4th quarter of 2011 for office rental in Hamburg stood at 14.50 euros/m²/month. There is considerable variation throughout Hamburg as one might imagine and it is locations such as the City, Hafencity, Port Rim and Alster West that can command the highest rates which can stretch to 25 euros/m²/month (City), 23 euros/m²/month (Hafencity) (Grossman & Berger, 2011a).

Residential uses, on the other hand, are still very much in favour because of the high demand for residential uses in Hamburg in general. This high demand creates a situation

where rents are also high and investments can produce high yields. Residential development remains an option for many developers and investment funds looking for good returns either by selling the property or renting it. (Grossman & Berger, 2011b)

Despite the enthusiasm from developers for residential development the high prices in Hafencity have put some people off living there. One of the reasons why the housing has been priced at the level it has is the fact that the original land prices were relatively expensive because of all the decontamination work and flood protection that needed to be carried out before the site could be reused. Developers bidding for the land would automatically look towards the higher end of the market to ensure that they could recoup the money they had invested. As such, it is normal that rentals are 2-3 euros per sqm more expensive than in other areas of the city.

The highest property prices for residential development in Hamburg are in an area called Harvestehude and Rotherbaum. Hafencity is the third highest with an average of 5000 euros/m² to buy residential property. Despite being higher than many other areas in Hamburg the waterfront location of Hafencity needs to be taken into consideration as this type of location will always command a premium. Those that moved into Hafencity at the beginning of the development process invested well as prices have risen significantly within the past 5 years (Grossman & Berger, 2011b).

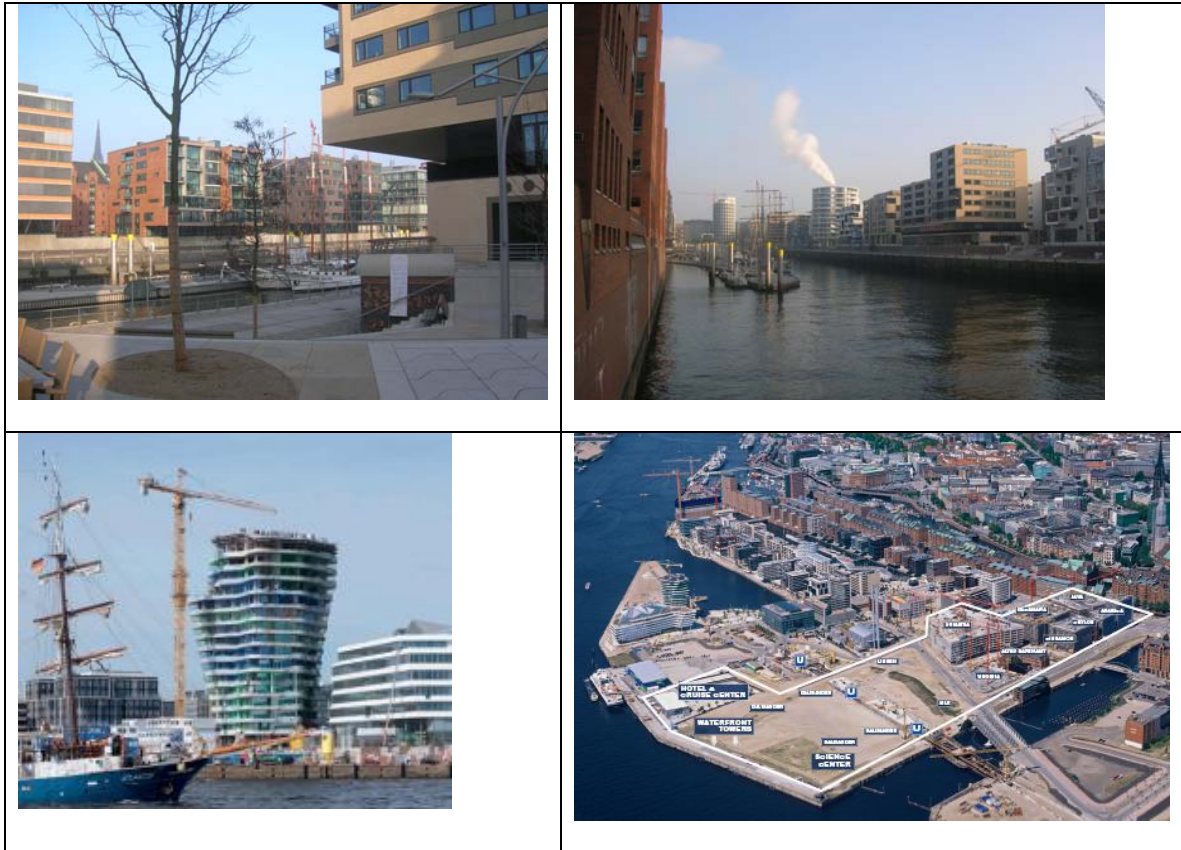


Figure 6.11 - Waterfront development raises rental prices in Hafencity (Source: Author & Hafencity Hamburg, 2011a)

Despite the high prices, those that work in the residential market in Hafencity report that demand both for buying and renting is good especially in the areas that are located furthest east. More central areas of Hafencity have encountered more difficulties but this may be due to the fact that the development area needs to expand further west and still needs a little more time to mature.

The viability of projects is a consideration that is often very difficult to get right because in many ways it depends on luck and how the market will react over the next twenty years. In the case of Hamburg the project was lucky because it began in 2000 which was a period of extraordinary growth and then has also been able to avoid the pitfalls of the global economic crisis in 2008 through its strong residential market. While this all could be

considered just good luck there are elements of the development process that have helped to ensure that the project has been kept on track. This includes the fact that a development agency was set up which included people who are knowledgeable about selling land and the legal issues connected to that but also considerable investment in marketing the location as a place to invest money.

The Hafencity Development Process

The development process involves a wide variety of organisations but the main actors are the city, the development agency and the developers. The basic process can be described as one in which the development agency seeks out interest for various plots of land within the Hafencity site. Potential developers are aware of the land use restrictions and urban design form through reference to the masterplan and a more specific urban design strategy that has been specifically produced for each section of the development. Office plots are treated differently to residential plots in that residential plots are put through a public tender process where any residential developer can come forward and propose a bid, whereas commercial uses are more likely to come forward by potential businesses getting in contact with the development agency directly.

The public tendering processes are important to explain because they demonstrate the type of format that Hafencity is using to ensure that development is of high quality. When developers respond to the public tendering process they make a bid for the land, in other words, they put forward a figure which they are prepared to pay for the land in question. Together with this bid they provide an outline of the type of development they envisage and it is this outline together with the bid price that is considered by the jury. It is important to note that price, while important, is not the key determining factor in the decision of the jury and that the quality of the proposal is the main concern in the jury's requirements. Indeed,

the assessment criteria are set out such that the price is worth 30% of the assessment while the quality of the bid is given 70%.

Once the jury, which is made up from a variety of different stakeholders, makes its decision, the preferred bidder goes into the design section of the process where the city, development agency and the developer themselves have the opportunity to suggest different architectural practices who are then invited to submit designs for the building in question. The jury then decides which design is most appropriate. Key to this process is that the developer is not required to pay for the land up front, instead the preferred bidder holds an option over the land until the point comes where all the design process has been finished and construction can start. It is only at this point that the developer needs to pay for the plot. This can have a variety of benefits including reducing the risk for the developer as well as allowing the developer to back out if market demand changes and viability is a concern.

CONCEPTION PHASE					CONSTRUCTION PHASE					
1990	1991-1995	1997	1998	2000	2001	2003	2005	2006	2007	2008
Fall of Iron curtain: Hamburg regains Hinterland	Stealthy acquisition of land in Hafencity by City Authority	Announcement of Hafencity project	Hafencity Hamburg GmbH was created	Decision on Masterplan	Start of construction Phase	Completion of first building Beginning of large scale construction Heat energy supply with CO2 benchmark Decision for Subway Line U4 (planning approval in 2006)	Decision about the Uberseequartier developer (central shopping area)	Decision for public investment - Elbphilharmonie	Construction starts - Uberseequartier	Hafencity own sustainable certification Opening of Museum and Tail Ship Harbour

Table 6.3 - The development process of the Hafencity (adapted from OECD, 2010)

The process for commercial buildings, on the other hand, is not a public tendering process and operates behind closed doors. Companies that want to locate in Hafencity approach the development agency for a site and are given various options. Once a site has been agreed upon together with a price for the land, the process moves forward into the design stage which is similar to that outlined above. Once again, the land is only paid for when construction of the site is imminent.

“It (the development process) is good because it was controlled well. It was a planned development rather than market led development. On the other hand, I could imagine more mixed use and public housing and some parts are quite high density. Of course it is a learning process and they don’t have a tunnel vision and remain flexible which is good which can be seen with the approach to the idea of creative classes which was not discussed at the start but now is being considered more carefully in terms of how Hamburg could accommodate these types of people because of course these people are not looking for new office buildings they are looking for existing buildings with very low rents and a few buildings are now being considered for these uses.”

Academic 2

The two different development processes have been outlined in the diagrams below:

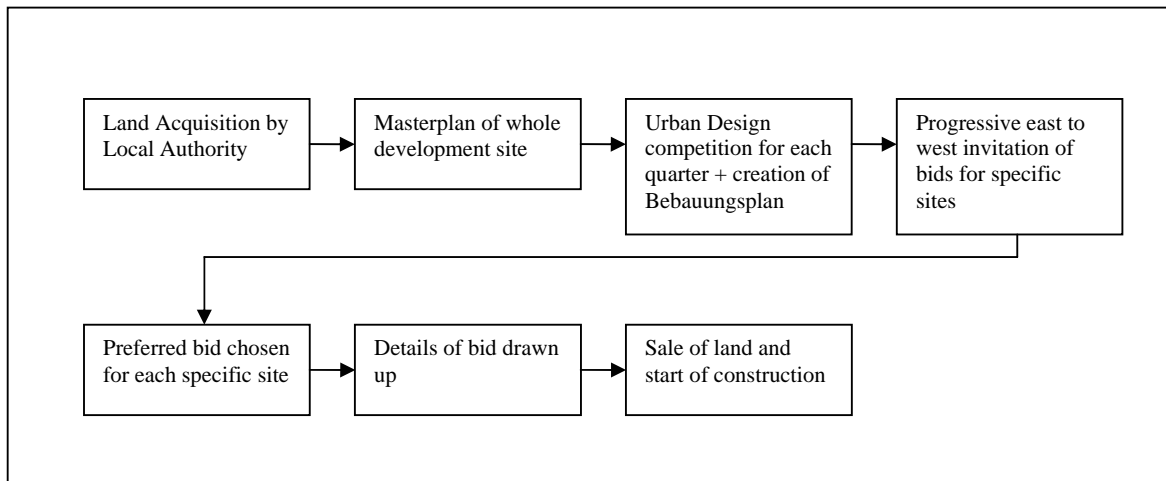


Figure 6.12 – Development process for residentially focused development plots (source: Author)

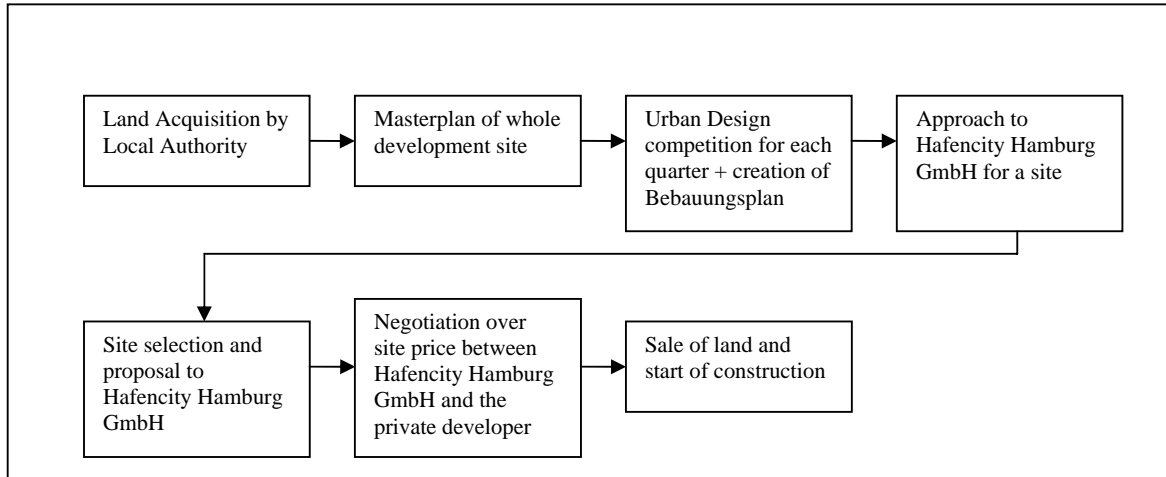


Figure 6.13 – Development process for office focused development plots (Source: Author)

The two processes shown in the figures above retain the focus on the importance of individual plots being the main vehicle through which the development process moves forward. The difference between a residential or office plot is the need for Hafencity Hamburg to engage at a more in depth level with larger employment uses so as to assess their needs in a more detailed way. The residential uses, on the other hand, are easier to deal with as residential uses are more standard and less negotiation is required. In the case of residential plots more emphasis is placed on design issues rather than negotiation.

Landownership

Most of the land at Hafencity is owned by the Free and Hanseatic of Hamburg and has been transferred to Special Assets – City and Port so as to facilitate its management by the Hafencity Hamburg GmbH. While the majority of the site has been in the hands of the city authority for a considerable amount of time, there are sections that were acquired more recently. Indeed, in the initial run up to the decision to create Hafencity in 1991-1997 a few key people were involved in acquiring land in and around the site to ensure that the city had ownership of the main areas. This was done in a confidential manner and very few people knew about the acquisitions. Indeed it was thought that it was important to keep the idea of the redevelopment of the port area confidential so as to ensure that land prices did not go up. For many of those involved in the process of the Hafencity the decision to acquire the land in this way is the key success of the Hafencity project.

“The most important thing for the development process were the decisions that were taken at the start when it was decided to buy the land which of course were completely undemocratic because it was done without anyone knowing. Of course in the end it was a good decision because it was possible to get the land for a very cheap price but most people did not know about it.”

Architect 1

It is clear that by buying land in this way the local authority was able to not only, get the land at a reasonable price but also, ensure that the process would be one in which the public sector, as opposed to the private sector, would dominate and therefore have strong control over the end result. After the initial buying process a few sections of land remained under the ownership of Deutsche Bahn AG but these were later acquired without problem.

“Yes of course, it (land ownership) is very important because the city could make their own decisions. If you have private ownership there are a variety of other interests. When there are private interests there is often a focus on increasing densities to ensure that there is maximum profit but when the city is the land owner there can be more of a focus on other issues. In fact Germany has a very interesting tool for dealing with land which is in divided private ownership which is called “staedtebaulische entwicklungs massnahmen”. This tool allows the local government to get hold of the land, develop it and then the land is returned to the original owner but the city retains the uplift in value of the land. This is an interesting tool because often what happens is that the private land owners are not very keen on the city using this tool so they try to reach an agreement with the city to create a different type of contract which is called an “abwendungs vereinbau”.”

Local Government Planner

“I think it was very important that they (city authority) were able to do that (buy the land) because if you have a variety of different land owners then it is always possible for one of the landowners to block the process and then put pressure on the city to get a higher price for the land. In addition to this of course you need to take into account that it is not only buying of the land that is important it is also important to deal with any lease agreements that there might be on any part of the site as well. Overall, I think it is therefore very important that the city tries to buy all the land at the start.”

Property Developer 2

“I think the situation about the landownership is that often you can not choose it and we developed the strategy for Hafencity with that in mind. If there were a variety of

different landowners then the strategy would be different. Hamburg of course has a lot of luck because Hamburg owns a lot of land in the city.”

Development Agency

[The landownership issue is] Absolutely central. It was key to realise a project with a level of consistency. The development corporation would be toothless without the ownership of the land. If it had been just a legal framework it would have been much more difficult. Also you need to understand that a lot of money needed to be put into infrastructure which was a big risk for the city and I think that the ownership of the land by the city helped to deal with this risk. Of course, if one private organisation owns all the land then they would obviously have different objectives than the city so you would have a machine with lots of sand in it.

Academic 2

Plot Sizes and Parcelisation

The Hafencity development is quite distinctive in the fact that for the most part it has been separated out into relatively small building plots. This has a number of benefits in terms of improving the diversity of the developments that are established both in terms of the developers that are selected as well as the architects that are chosen. Often when a single developer is in charge of a large scale development they tend to seek economies of scale and in doing so reduce the diversity of architecture and therefore produce a more monotone environment that lacks vibrancy and interest. Creating a complex, interesting and diverse urban environment from scratch can be a difficult endeavour. This is partly due to the fact that urban complexity is so difficult to achieve from a blank slate. The fact that small building plots have been established in Hafencity goes a long way to ensuring that urban complexity is achieved.

The diagram below is an example of the number of different building plots that were identified within just a single section of the masterplan. As can be seen there are 24 plots on what is a relatively small section of land. The smaller plots also allow smaller developers to be considered and this inclusion of smaller players can add to the diversity that is often lacking in many large scale developments where only one developer is involved.



Figure 6.14 – Plots on the Sandtorkai and Dalmannkai

“There are many reasons why smaller plots are better solution. The positive element of the smaller plots is that it is not possible for a large scale developer to come in and buy a large piece of land and then to sell it on to other developers. In this case the city keeps a strong control of the process because they only sell small plots bit by bit which ensures that the city can control very carefully what goes on. There is a very big difference if the city has one big developer to deal with or 8 smaller ones because the power of the individual developer is reduced if there are 8 of them. Also in connection to that if for example one site does not come forward then the city can decide to take that plot back and give it to another developer. For example if the Uberseequartier does not work (large site and large developer) then we can not do that much and all we can say is that we were unlucky. But of course if you want a system of smaller plots then you need to have an organisation like the development agency that we have here which is the Hafencity Hamburg which can deal with all the

competitions and of course can deliver the infrastructure. Another positive point to do with having smaller plots is that you get a wider variety of organisations involved in the project. If it was one big plot then there would only be a few organisations that could be involved because most developers can not take on such a demanding project but because the site has been split into lots of smaller sites, smaller developers can get involved and I think that brings a lot of creativity to the process.”

Property Developer 3

6.6 Conclusion

The Hamburg case study is an example of a development process which is dominated by public sector intervention. It is plan-led rather than market led and it has been led by an authority that has both the belief, the backing and the skills to deliver a project of this scale. The set up of the development corporation has allowed the local authority to delegate some of the more detailed issues of land sales to another organisation that has those specific skills and in doing so has created an organisation that developers can interact with easily and efficiently. It could be argued that the situation at Hamburg Hafencity is unique and therefore can only deliver limited lessons about the development processes of sustainable urban regeneration. However, while it is difficult to argue that Hafencity is not unique it does represent an important lesson in how to deliver large scale urban projects such as these in a sustainable and comprehensive manner. The way in which the city authority has dealt with the issue of bringing forward such a development proposal provides an important lesson in how to manage markets through the planning system and as such using the planning system not just as a way to control development but also as a way to bring forward the right type of development.

Power in this case has been strictly contained within the public sector and the project has been run with the intentions of the public good and the interests of Hamburg as a

city. This has been achieved not only through planning rules and regulations but also, and more significantly, through the purchase of land. This land assembly process has ensured that the city authority steers the project and that private interests are kept in check. This in turn has ensured that private developers can only influence the project to a limited degree with a limited number of plots available to any one developer. This approach ensures a mixture of land owners and developers and also helps to create an urban environment that is both interesting and varied.

Indeed, the issue of power is central to the whole approach that has been taken forward in Hamburg. As opposed to other contexts, the neo-liberal approach to development is not apparent here. Developers have very limited ability to profit from rises in land value but the increased certainty about the aims and objectives of the development make it still attractive for investment. The 'dark forces' related to power and influence are more constrained in this context because the plots of land are smaller and therefore there is less to be gained by lobbying tactics.

These issues have helped to ensure that Hafencity has dealt with sustainability in a comprehensive way. Both the wider vision and the individual buildings are focused towards achieving sustainable objectives and this has been helped by the largely local authority driven process which can place more emphasis on this issue than a privately driven one could.

CHAPTER 7 - CASE STUDY (22@ BARCELONA, SPAIN)

7.1 Introduction

The Hamburg case study has provided an indication about how a large scale urban regeneration project can be brought forward but it is important to consider other cases as well in order to get a wider picture about sustainable urban development projects. It is for this reason that the 22@ project, which is located in the city of Barcelona, will now be considered. Similarly to Hafencity, 22@ is one of the biggest regeneration projects in Europe and the main focus of the project is to transform a previously industrial area of the city into a mixed use district with a focus on high-tech companies that are considered to be the new engines of the modern economy. This case study will consider a variety of different issues connected with the 22@ project but the main focus will be the development processes connected with the project, including how these development processes were constructed, by whom and who held the power, as well as considering how these development processes had an influence on the overall sustainability of the project as a whole.

7.2 The Context

Barcelona is the capital of Catalonia and is the second biggest city in Spain with a population of 1.6m people. It has a long history of competition with Madrid in terms of attracting investment and at the same time has increasingly sought more independence from the Spanish central government. Many of the people living in Barcelona use the Catalan language with Spanish only used when required. Children are educated in Catalan reinforcing this point.

Barcelona is located to the north east of the Spanish peninsula and is one of the main economic centres in Spain. Its transformation over the past few decades has been nothing short of remarkable and its changes have been studied widely in the

academic world. It now ranks as one of the best places in which to live according to quality of life standards (Cushman and Wakefield, 2011).

Barcelona's physical transformation is one that can be easily observed from looking at plans of the city layout. The city originally started in the "Ciutat Vella" (Old City) and then expanded into the Eixample area of the city which is distinctive due to its grid shaped urban form. This area of the city was designed by Ildefons Cerda and while this area remains largely intact, it was adapted a little later by the Frenchman Leon Jaussely (Monclus, 2000).

As Barcelona continued to grow it became more and more popular partly due to the businesses and industry that was located there. Barcelona has been very successful in its marketing approaches often using slogans such as "*the Paris of the South*", "*Barcelona ciudad de invierno*" (Barcelona city of winter) or "*Barcelona, la Perla del Mediterraneo*" (Barcelona, the pearl of the Mediterranean). Through this it has managed to attract large numbers of tourists and is one of the premier locations for international conferences, congresses and fairs. The culmination of this was the hosting of the 1992 Olympics which transformed considerable elements of the city and improved the waterfront area.

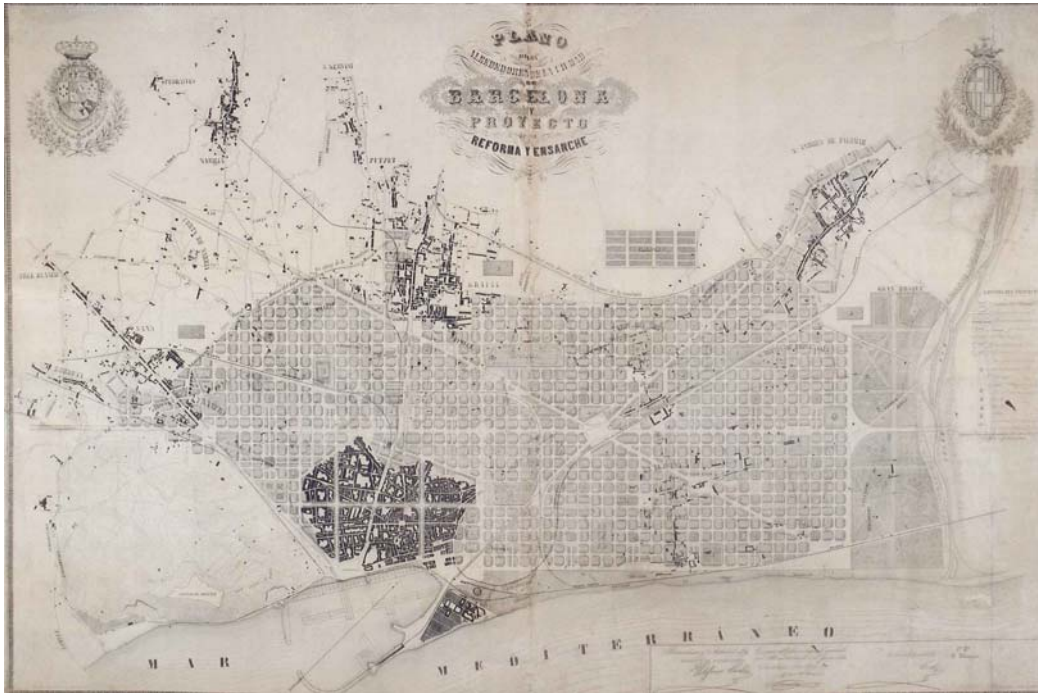


Figure 7.1: The historic vision for the future layout of Barcelona (Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2010b)

The Economics of Barcelona

Barcelona is one of the largest urban areas in Europe and therefore has considerable economic influence. Barcelona has managed to move from what was an industrial city into a city that houses a wide variety of service sector businesses. There are a total of 8 universities in Barcelona which also adds to the power of the “knowledge sector” by creating home grown talent and drawing talent to the city. Of particular merit are the business schools in the city such as IESE, ESADE and EADA which are highly regarded in the business world and the competitive MBA market. The level of change in terms of economic profile can be seen easily by looking back 30 years. In 1981, 41% of the companies located in Barcelona were connected to the industrial sector. This has now reduced to only 13% of the jobs and the service sector now takes 81% of the 1m jobs in the city (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2010c).

Sectors	Barcelona	Catalonia
Agriculture	0.2%	1.24%
Industry	13%	21.1%
Construction	5.4%	7.9%
Services	81.4%	69.8%
Total	100%	100%

Table 7.1 – Percentage of Salaried employees by Economic Sector (Source: Department of Statistics of Barcelona City Council)

Barcelona also performs well in terms of its exports to other countries partly due to its location and its large harbour facilities. Indeed it represents the main exporting territory for the Spanish peninsular with 1/5 of its sales going abroad of which 60% are connected to a range of high tech industries.

	2007	2008	% Spain 2008
Barcelona	39,442	39,814	21.2%
Catalonia	49,678	50,314	26.7%
Spain	185,023	188,184	100%

Table 7.2 – Exports in Millions of Euros (Source: Spanish Ministry of Industry, Tourism and Trade)

Economic performance of the city has also been improved by recent infrastructure improvements which make the city more connected to the wider region. In particular this includes the new high speed rail connection (AVE) to Madrid as well as improvements to the El Prat international airport which was expanded in 1995 from two runways to three and also has a new terminal 1 building which has helped to keep the airport up to international standards. These alterations have made the airport one of the busiest in Europe coming ninth in terms of passenger volume (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2010c).

The spatial/economic strategy of Barcelona

The three main elements to the economic strategy of Barcelona are the following:

- Economic development, innovation and competitiveness
- Sustainable development and quality of life
- Social cohesion

(Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2010c)

These are, of course, very generic, and for the most part could be used by a wide variety of cities. Indeed it is the general wish for most urban areas to encourage economic development, innovation and competitive advantage while at the same time ensure that development is of a sustainable nature and social cohesion is retained as far as is possible.

To this end, Barcelona has developed these ideas a little further and established the *Barcelona Principles* (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2010c) which give a little more detail about the exact nature of the economic, social and environmental aspirations of the city.

These principles include the following:

- 1) Barcelona, collaborative leadership to face the crisis
- 2) Barcelona, a reference in quality public services
- 3) Barcelona, a clear strategy towards a new model of economic growth
- 4) Barcelona, strategic action and short term impact
- 5) Barcelona boosts the attraction of foreign investment, economic activity and talent
- 6) Barcelona, a model of cooperation with socio-economic agents and the private sector
- 7) Barcelona is committed to major productive infrastructures and leading events

- 8) Barcelona, close to the citizens
- 9) Barcelona, open to the world
- 10) Barcelona, effective coordination with administrations to face the economic crisis

(Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2010c)

As can be seen from these objectives, Barcelona has placed a clear emphasis on combating the difficulties of the economic crisis but it also is making a strong commitment to public services and attracting investment from abroad. Indeed its forward thinking approach to public-private partnerships has been particularly prevalent.

Beyond the economic strategy of further sustainable growth, the city also has an important spatial strategy to help the city move forward. The importance of such a strategy can clearly be seen from looking at the location that Barcelona occupies. While it is blessed with a waterfront location which has given it many advantages in the past as well as the present, the fact that Barcelona is surrounded by mountains means that expansion of the city is problematic. The importance of a spatial strategy is therefore paramount. As the city grew it used influential urban planners such as Cerdà to create the vision of the future but during the late 20th century it became obvious that a more detailed spatial strategy would be required especially as the city has become an industrial environment where social services such as schools were lacking (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2010b). The new spatial plan for Barcelona was named the General Metropolitan Plan (PGM) and was introduced in 1975. The plan sought to ensure that the urban fabric of Barcelona was opened up for more public spaces and green areas so as to ensure a more pleasant environment for its inhabitants.



Figure 7.2: The Eixample - Cerdà's Grid Pattern in Barcelona (Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2010b)

The interventions in the late 1970s managed to change the city in a positive manner but much larger scale interventions were required to make the city more liveable. It was during this period that Barcelona started a process of presenting itself as a candidate for the 1992 Olympic Games. It was this process that allowed a government that was having financial difficulties to move forward with its vision of a new Barcelona. When Barcelona won the 1992 Games the local government went forward with an ambitious plan to transform a substantial part of the former industrial area of the city close to coast. It was these changes which both changed the perception and the urban fabric of the city (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2010b).



Figure 7.3: View of Barcelona seafront in 1992 (Source: Monclus, 2003)

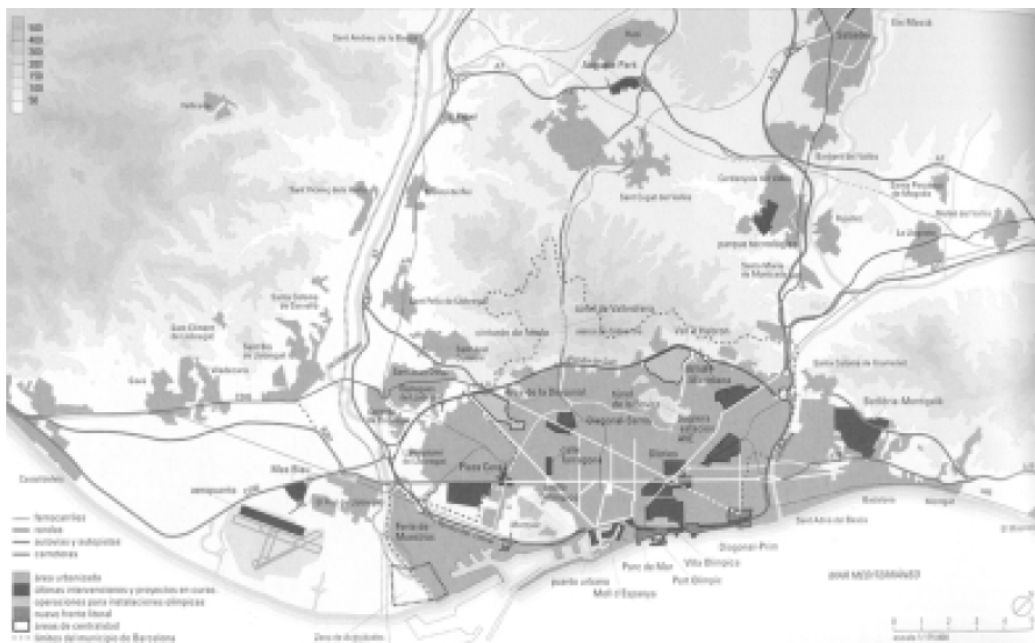


Figure 7.4 – Areas of urban regeneration in the 1980s and 1990s (dark patches) (Source: Monclus, 2003)

The 1992 Olympics changed the city substantially but there was a clear idea within the city authority that momentum should not be lost after the Games and that change should continue. With this in mind, there was push to market Barcelona as both a place to visit as a tourist but also as a place for investment (Marshall, 2000).

During the 1990s the city continued to work on changing Barcelona from a city with an industrial focus towards a more modern metropolis with growing industries. There were three specific projects that were the main aims for Barcelona during the 1990s. The first was an area along the coast from the Olympic village which was identified as a location for a large shopping centre together with residential and office development. The second was the continuation of the Diagonal road so that it could reach the coast and the third was redevelopment of land around the new high speed railway station (Marshall, 2000).

As a consequence of these projects and others that evolved in the early 2000s, Barcelona became a planning best practice model that was studied in considerable detail in many journals and academic papers. It was within this context that Barcelona started on its next big project, 22@, to take the city even further towards what was considered a more prosperous and secure future.

7.3 The 22@ Development



Figure 7.5: Location of 22@ within Barcelona (Source: Adjutament de Barcelona, 2011)

The 22@ project came into being because there was a strong awareness that the nature of cities was changing rapidly in the late 20th century. The former industrial areas that had played an important role in the growth of Barcelona had by now begun to decline and it was apparent that large areas of Barcelona would deteriorate if no action was taken. It was for this reason, that the local government identified the area of Poblenou as an area that could be regenerated into a knowledge neighbourhood fit for the 21st century.

“At the start of the process when 22@ was starting it helped to create an economic focus in Barcelona which had for a long time been missing and had instead been flowing towards Madrid. 22@ was a good approach to give something back to

Barcelona and I think it will continue to be so. I think the future will depend on the private sector.”

Architect 1

Poblenou (*New village* in Catalan) is located to the north east of the old town of Barcelona within the larger district of Sant Martí. It is often referred to as being located in the regeneration triangle which is formed by connecting the Sagrera, Glories intersection, which will be redeveloped soon (Veines del Poblenou, 2012), and the Forum.



Figure 7.6: The economic triangle which encloses elements of the 22@ area (Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2011)

Poblenou is located close to the sea and was originally swampland with lagoons which is reflected in the names of the streets in the area such as Llacuna (lagoon) and Joncar (reed bed). The large areas of water were ideal for the creation of bleaching meadows which were established in the 18th century. As technology improved steam engines were introduced and then electric power. This allowed a variety of different industries to set up in the local area including oils, wines, textiles,

metal and gas. As time progressed, the area became more and more industrial to the point that it was the largest industrial area in the country or the so-called “Catalan Manchester”. The main focal points for the area were the Prim Square and the Plata neighbourhood and in the early part of the 20th century as more and more people were attracted to the area for employment small informal settlements were created called Somorrostro, Pequín, and Transcendentí.



Figure 7.7: A view of the Poblenou area of Barcelona during the 1970s (Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2010b)

“So this is an inner city area which was previously industrial land containing many different industrial companies and was called the Catalan Manchester. Slowly these industries started to fail and were replaced by workshops and transportation companies. When the 22@ project started in 2000 there were also about 10,000 people living there and 6000 companies.”

Academic 1

In the 1960s the economic importance of the industrial areas started to decline and as companies moved out or closed, large areas of land were given over to transportation companies and warehousing. In the 1990s, there was substantial change happening within and near to Poblenou. This involved the construction of the new Olympic village and other improvements to the waterfront close to Poblenou. Despite, the regeneration connected with the Olympics the majority of Poblenou remained an underused area throughout the 1990s and it was for this reason that the city authorities decided to embark on the 22@ project in 2000 and the project is still underway at present.

Main strategy and approach of 22@

The main objective of the 22@ project is to transform 200 hectares of the old industrial area of Poblenou into a vibrant high quality mixed use environment for working, living and learning. The plan was seen as having three main elements:

- Urban renewal – Removing redundant buildings and inappropriate activities and replacing them with new development that would regenerate the local area, while at the same time ensuring that the historic core of Poblenou and other key historic elements are retained
- Economic renewal – Refocusing the economy of the area from an area of transportation and warehousing into an area that supports the new economies of technology and knowledge
- Social revitalisation – Recreating a new social network of professionals that can create synergies between private business, research centres, universities and other institutions

(Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2010b)

At the start, the project was focused around the idea of 6 economic engines (see below for more details) but this has since been changed to 5 clusters which include the following:

- Media
- Information and Communication Technology (ICT)
- Medical Technology
- Energy
- Design

(Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2011)

“At the start of the 22@ process they were often talking about engines. This approach has since been replaced by the idea of clusters.”

Academic 2

These clusters were identified as economic sectors that could be attracted to the 22@ area of Barcelona with the ability to create a critical mass of companies within the same sector and as such start to create synergies between each other and thereby attracting further companies in that sector to locate close by.

The idea of these clusters was fundamental to the overall approach of the project because there was a specific feeling within the city authority that this area could not just become another housing area as had been the case with much of the legacy of the Olympic Games infrastructure in 1992. The city wanted to rethink the economy of Barcelona and drew inspiration from both structure and dynamics of the Silicon

Valley area in the US and Richard Florida's "Creative Class" (Florida, 2002) as a basis for the new economic vision for Barcelona.

The main statistics of the 22@ project can be seen in the table below:

Site Area	200 hectares 115 blocks 1,159,626 m2 of 22@ land
Total gross floor area potential	4,000,000 m2 Productive activities 3,200,000 m2 Other uses 800,000 m2
Housing	4,614 houses are recognised 4,000 new social housing dwellings are created
Increase in green zones	114,000 m2 of land
New facilities	145, 000 m2 of land
Investment in the Special Infrastructures plan	180 million euros
Creation of employment	150,000 new jobs

Table 7.3: Statistics of the 22@ project (Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2010b)

Planning Strategy

The planning approach for the 22@ area revolves around the idea of changing the existing land use designation from 22a, which was an industrial designation, to a new 22@ designation which allowed new types of businesses to locate in the area together with some elements of social housing but prevented the creation of new private housing. The only private housing that has been allowed is the renovation of the existing 4,614 housing units already on the site.

This approach was formalised through the modification of the PGM which can be abbreviated to MPGM. The MPGM highlighted the areas which were to be considered part of the 22@ area which, as can be seen in the plan below is not a single area but 4 specific areas to which this new designation would apply. One of

the main considerations for the project was the fact that the site was not only extremely large, it was also complex due to the number of existing businesses and residents in the area. This also meant that there were a huge number of different land owners, which further increased the complexity of creating a realistic vision for the area.

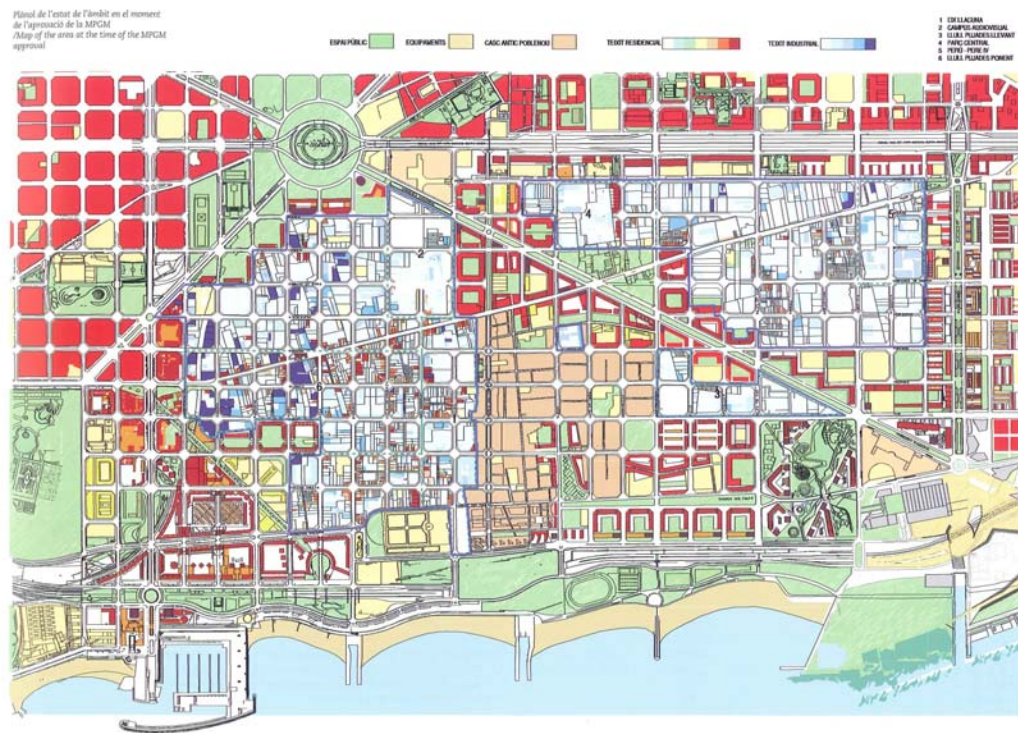


Figure 7.8: The Plan within the MPGM at the start of the process in 2000 (Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2010b)

In a generic sense, the urban design strategy of the MPGM was to continue the pattern of the existing Cerdà plan that has come to typify the urban layout of Barcelona. Cerdà's grid pattern would be extended into the area and old industrial areas would be remodelled into areas with new businesses that adhered to the block layout. The other main aim was to link up with Avenida Diagonal which had been newly created in 1998 and runs from Glòries to Diagonal Mar shopping centre and the Forum 2004.

A number of predetermined plans or engines were created at the start of the process so as to ensure that the development of the area would progress quickly. These are listed below and cover approximately 48% of the total land area of the 22@ project. While these projects involve a wide variety of private actors, they also include a significant number of public sector organisations that were attracted to the area for differing reasons. This higher element of public sector organisations helped to ensure that the engines moved forward quickly and at the same time gave confidence to the private sector that comprehensive change was going to come forward. The development process in these cases was organised by the public sector.

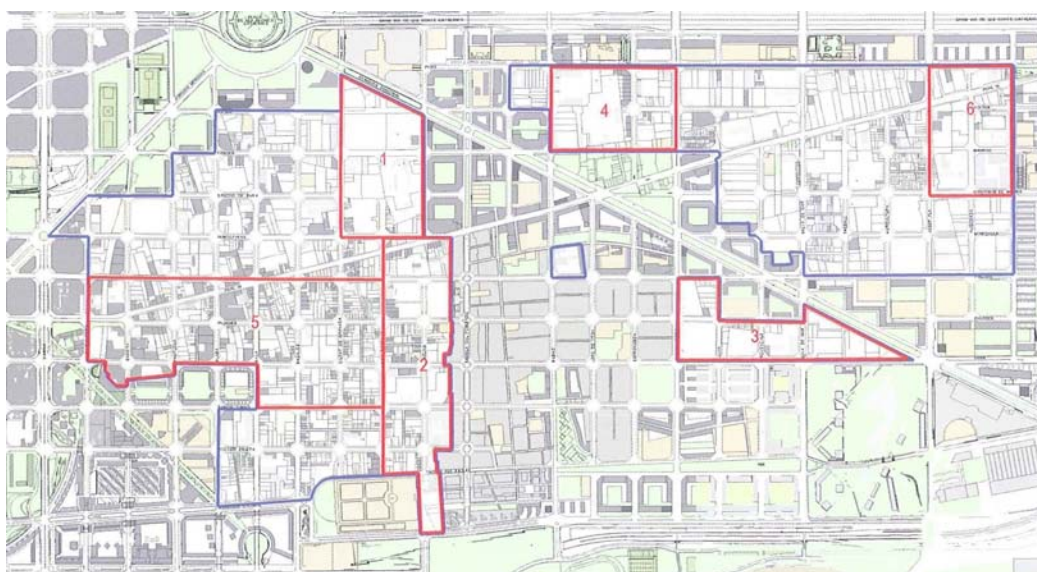


Figure 7.9: The six main engines for the 22@ project (Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2010b)

No. 1 on map	Audiovisual Campus
No. 2 on map	Eix Llacuna
No. 3 on map	Llull-Pujades Llevant
No. 4 on map	Parc Central
No. 5 on map	Llull Pujades Ponent
No. 6 on map	Peru-Pere IV

Table 7.4 – The six engines in 22@ (Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2011)

Key elements of the 22@ development

Apart from the Modifications to the PGM and the 6 engines to push forward the project, there were other policies that related more specifically to the land uses on the site and what type of land uses would be encouraged and those that would be discouraged.

Housing

Housing is one of the key elements of the 22@ vision but this provision has been specifically reserved for social housing rather than housing on the free market. At the beginning of the 22@ process there was a strong lobby for private residential development to be allowed within the area but at the same time, after the experience with the Olympic village which became dominated by private housing, there was an opposing feeling by many within political circles that 22@ should be a mixed use area which would create a new economic base for Barcelona. In the end, a mixed approach was chosen with an element of social housing allowed which reinforces the area as a mixed use area that is vibrant during the day and night. The 4000 social housing units that are envisaged for the area have, in part, already been developed. The land for the housing has been freed up through the development process (see below) and is constructed by public sector organisations that either sell the properties at lower price than market value or rent them. Individuals gain access to these flats by applying to the city authority.

“[New] private housing is not allowed in the area, only social housing. There is an exception to this which is that buildings that are protected for their historical interest can be converted into “non-conventional housing” which is often something like lofts or live/work units.”

Historic environment group

“Private housing was resisted by the locals because of what had happened with the Olympic village (dominated by private housing). The vision therefore was one of a mixed use area”

Residents Association 1

In addition to the 4000 new social housing units, the modification to the PGM also recognised all the dwellings that were already within the 22@ area but had up until that point not been official. The dissolving of the 22a designation provided the opportunity for these unrecognised dwellings to be counted and made official. There are a total of 4,600 such dwellings in the 22@ area and the planning approach is that refurbishment should be encouraged where possible.

@Activities

@Activities are land uses that are specifically focused around the technology and knowledge sectors such as research, design, publishing, culture or media. These land uses are characterised by their intensive use of information and space. The 22@ project aims to enhance the number of businesses that focus on these areas as they are seen as growth areas in the future global economy. The development process tries to ensure that @activities are attracted to the area by requiring developers to demonstrate that these uses are represented within their development proposals. If this is not the case the developer can not increase the density index which obviously reduces profit margins for those involved. There is therefore an incentive for developers to ensure that @activities have been included in their proposals.

@Facilities

@Facilities are social facilities that are included in the 22@ area. This includes schools, universities, business incubators, medical centres and research centres. As

part of the development process 10% of all development land must be given to the city authority which then will use this land for @facilities. The aim of the @facilities is twofold. The first element is to ensure the residents and those that use the 22@ area are provided for in terms of social infrastructure that they may require. The other main element is that these @facilities should be able to create synergies with the business located around them and in doing so will promote the 22@ area as a location of innovation that involves both public and private organisations. These facilities are located along the Llacuna and Bolivia axis.

Infrastructure

At the time that the 22@ project began the infrastructure in the area was of low quality and it soon became clear that this was going to be one the main elements that needed to be considered carefully as the project moved forward. A Special Infrastructure Plan (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2000) was therefore devised which set out how 37km of streets within the 22@ area would be redeveloped. This involved creating infrastructure that would support knowledge sectors businesses and would need to be innovative to ensure sustainability but also create a competitive edge over other areas of the city. The majority of the infrastructure has now been installed and includes fibre optic cable networks, automatic waste disposal systems, a district heating and cooling system and a mobility plan that promotes sustainable forms of transport such as the tram system and cycling.

These elements were all paid for by the city authority and involved an outlay of more than 180m euros. The city has been able to recuperate some of that investment through the development process where they impose a levy on the redevelopment of land which includes a payment towards the infrastructure that has been put in place. It is through this system that the city ensures that it regains its investment.

Industrial Heritage

The 22@ site has a strong industrial heritage and it became clear from the beginning of the process that the historic elements of the site needed some sort of protection against redevelopment. While the 22@ plan highlighted the importance of historic heritage in the area, a more detailed approach was formulated in 2006 with a new Poblenou Industrial Heritage Protection Plan (2006). The Heritage Protection Plan, which was created in conjunction with local interest and residents groups, identifies 114 buildings that should be protected against demolition. This strategy helps to ensure that the historical past of the local area is maintained into the future and that urban environment has a variety of different architectural elements. The plan was adopted as an extension to the Special Plan on the Historic-Artistic Architectural Heritage of Barcelona. A number of the 114 buildings were given a high level of protection such as the Can Ricard industrial complex which was deemed a cultural property of national interest.

Rather than just protect these buildings there was a clear preference that the structures identified in the Heritage Protection Plan should be redeveloped for alternative uses such as @activities, @facilities or non-conventional housing such as lofts where living and working is possible. In many situations this is now the case which proves that a sensitive approach to the historic environment can be combined with large scale regeneration.

7.4 Networks and Coalitions

As put forward by the theoretical framework (Coaffee & Healey, 2003) it is important to consider issues of governance (Beauregard, 1996; Stoker, 1995; Stone, 1989; Healey, 2004) which includes networks (Moulaert & Cabaret, 2006), power relations (Stein & Harper, 2003) and partnerships (Elander, 2002). These issues will provide greater insight into the workings of the 22@ development processes. To do this, it is

necessary to get an appreciation of the main actors and the connections and power differentials between them. This is a list of the main actors involved:

- 22@Barcelona
- 22@Network
- The City Authority
- Private Developers
- Landowners
- Businesses/Occupiers
- The local community/residents groups/Interest groups/Local Artists
- Architects
- Investors
- Financiers
- Agents
- Politicians
- BarcelonActiva

All of these actors work in the context of the legal, economic, social and cultural context of Barcelona and while this makes their context unique it is important to understand the exact connections between them. This can be seen in the diagram below:

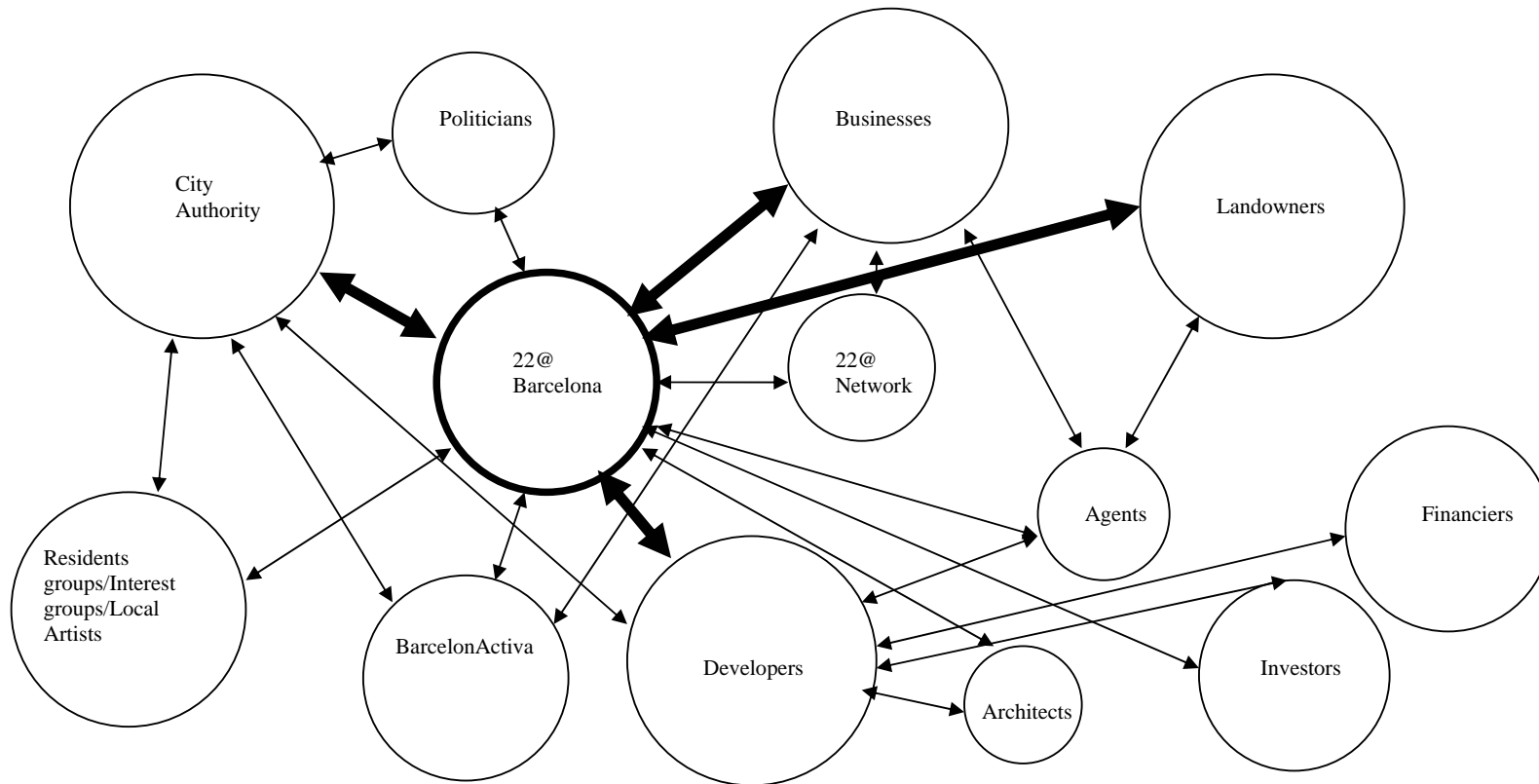


Figure 7.10: Connections between key actors in the 22@ development process (thicker lines represent stronger connections, size of spheres is not representative)

Main Actor 1: 22@Barcelona

22@Barcelona is an organisation that was set up at the start of the process and is still operating currently. The formal status of the organisation is a S.A.U. (Sociedad Anonima Unipersonal) which is similar to that of Plc (Public Limited Company) in the UK. Despite its company status, 22@Barcelona is completely managed and run by the City Authority of Barcelona and its main purpose is to manage the 22@ development area and be the first port of call for all those who have issues that they need answering. There were a number of reasons why this organisation was set up but one of the main elements was to ensure that information could be given easily and efficiently to investors, developers, businesses and local residents. It also acted as a one stop shop where developers could go and speak to all the relevant people without needing to go through a whole variety of different local authority departments.

The structure of the organisation can be split into four main sections which include the following:

- 1) Urban Planning
- 2) Urban Management
- 3) Infrastructures
- 4) Economic Development

(Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2010b)

The economic development department has since been moved back into the city authority, which therefore leaves just three main departments. Each of these departments has different responsibilities but the close interaction between them and the specific nature of the development area that they were dealing with ensured that developers could visit 22@Barcelona and often have meetings with a variety of officers from different departments.

“It was very important because of the scale of the area but also because it created a new door for the customer which in this case were the developers. So it was a customer relationship because of course the main objective is economic growth and social improvements.”

BarcelonActiva

The importance of this organisation is considered by many as instrumental in taking the development forward in the initial phases of the project. Lots of the documentation and marketing for the area came from this organisation and during the early years of the project, through to when the economic crisis started, there was a lot of engagement with the private sector so as to ensure that investment was attracted to the area. Since 2008, the level of demand for office space and the ability for developers to gain access to finance has reduced dramatically so workload for this organisation has also changed explaining, in part, why the economic development section has been moved back into the wider city authority.

“Apart from the fact that the control was very strong, I think the 22@ organisation was absolutely necessary because it allowed a flow of information to investors which was very useful and efficient. At the same time of course they were very restricted by rules that were imposed on them so that at times they were not able to be very flexible which I think is something quite negative.”

Architect 2

It should be highlighted that when the 22@Barcelona organisation was created it was led by Mayor Joan Clos who later became the President of the company together with the managing director at the time who was Miquel Barcelo. Clos and Barcelo oversaw the growth in importance of 22@Barcelona to the point where it started to become and resemble a development agency with increasing elements of economic development being incorporated.

At this stage, the nature of the set up and the people involved in 22@Barcelona gave the organisation a level of independence that allowed private investment to flow towards the area because of the connections made with the private sector and the ability of the organisation to connect with higher political powers.

Since then, there has been considerable movement in both the leadership of 22@Barcelona and the political landscape of Barcelona as whole. The organisation is now run by Josep Pique who also has strong connections to BarcelonActiva, an organisation that promotes entrepreneurship in the city, and the City Authority in general. The change in market conditions and the removal of the economic development department from 22@Barcelona means that the organisation has become more procedurally focussed which means that it can not encourage development or be as proactive as it used to be.

Main Actor 2: 22@Network

The 22@ Network was originally brought forward by the city authority as a way in which to create greater synergies between the companies located in the 22@ area. As the network evolved and more and more companies became involved, the city slowly withdrew funding and now the network is fully funded by the contribution of the companies that belong to the organisation. The network is organised by a planning/sustainability consultant who is paid to run the organisation. The format of the network has evolved to one that not only promotes communication between companies but also as a method of communication between the companies and the city authority. The fact that the 22@ Network represents so many companies in the local area gives it greater weight and voice in terms of negotiations with the city authority and ensures that business issues are dealt with swiftly.

Main Actor 3: Residents Groups/Interest Groups/Artists

There are a wide variety of different interest groups in the local area partly because the 22@ area of Barcelona has a long history as both an area to work and live. The groups that have established themselves are closely connected to issues such as the historic environment, residential concerns and the protection of artists premises. The 22@ process went through an element of public consultation at the beginning and the perception of this varies from person to person and organisation to organisation. While it is recognised that the change of designation from 22a to 22@ was a top-down process, these community groups have been able to have a certain level of influence about the outcome of the 22@ project. Particular examples of this include the adoption of the Heritage Protection Plan (2006) which was initiated through local community pressure to ensure that the historic elements of the area were protected and would not suffer. Similarly, and partly in connection with the previous point, the local community were heavily involved in protecting the Can Ricard industrial complex which was subsequently listed and bought by the city authority who now plan to convert it into a cultural location.

“There were times when the tension between the 22@ scheme and the local people was extremely volatile and it soon became apparent that local historic elements needed to be treated in a different way if the process was going to move forward”

Artist Collective

The local community has therefore been able to have an influence on the processes associated with 22@ even though the process in general was one which was characterised as being top-down.

Main Actor 4: Barcelonactiva

Barcelonactiva is an organisation that is funded by the city authority to support and promote entrepreneurship. This involves providing a location for entrepreneurs to meet as well as the provision of different types of training that is useful for people running small businesses. It has two business incubators near the 22@ area and small businesses that are considered to have growth potential are offered office space to help them develop and establish themselves in Barcelona. Barcelonactiva also has other programmes such as “*Do it in Barcelona*” which is an attempt to attract foreign people with business ideas to Barcelona.

Barcelonactiva has had considerable success in terms of developing new businesses and is considered as a good case study example of supporting local entrepreneurship. It should be noted, however, that Barcelonactiva’s activities are focused on Barcelona as a whole rather than just the 22@ area.

Main Actor 5: The private sector (Developers, Agents, Landowners)

As with any development process, the private sector holds many of the keys to success. 22@ is no different in this respect especially as the process is heavily dependent on private landowners agreeing to sell their land which in turn allows the possibility of land assembly. The way in which this process was carried out was left to the market in many cases and in the boom years from 2000 to 2007 it was easy to convince landowners that they would benefit financially from selling their land. That has now become impossible and as a result the level of progress of the project has been hampered by the downturn in the property market.

“We are one of the few developers that is active in the 22@ area at the moment. Most developers are not interested in considering office development because of the state of the market”

Property Developer 1

The main connection point for the private sector is the 22@Barcelona S.A.U. which became the place to go in terms of understanding the special processes involved in developing a project in the 22@ area. Indeed, agents were often invited to breakfast meetings as a way of understanding the current climate in the private sector but also to put across the message that investment was safe in this location. These initiatives have since been reduced in part because of the lack of demand for office space and the consequent lack of interest from developers and their financial backers who do not see how development can bring returns in the current climate.

The interaction of all of these key actors goes to highlight the power differentials between them and that once again the main focal element of power has been held by the public sector at least at the start of the project. Later in the process the Barcelona project has suffered because of the downturn in the economy and as such the demand for space at the 22@ project has reduced and the power focus has shifted more towards the private landowners and their ability to develop their own projects.

7.5 Discourses: Sustainability and the Development Processes

As highlighted by the theoretical framework (Coaffee & Healey, 2003) sustainability (Cullingworth et al, 2006; Neass, 2001) and development processes (Healey, 2001) are the key discourses for this project. Of key importance in this case are how the two discourses have been brought together and the ability of the development processes to encourage sustainable practices. The first part of this section will consider how sustainability was

integrated into the project and this will be followed by a more detailed appreciation of the development process itself, therefore providing an overview about if and how the development process helped to bring forward sustainable urban development.

Sustainability

Sustainability has always been a core element of the 22@ project. The very nature of the project, which involves the reuse of former industrial land in a city centre location combines well with the concept of the compact city, mixed use urban environments and reductions in distances travelled. It is important to consider sustainability at this stage because sustainability remain a core paradigm for planning and it is important to get an understanding about how the development process and the governance/power arrangements have had an influence on the sustainability of the project in terms of environmental, social and economic issues.

Environmental Sustainability

One of the main focuses in terms of sustainability in the 22@ project has been the way in which the infrastructure has been developed and how this infrastructure will help ensure that the 22@ neighbourhood will be sustainable in short and long term.

“The sustainability of the area has been achieved by the innovative approach towards infrastructure that was put in place and the beginning of the process”

Infrastructure Officer

The main elements of the infrastructure that have been developed include:

- The combined heat and cooling unit and corresponding infrastructure
- Installation of fibre optic cables

- Pneumatic waste collection
- Electricity network

The combined heat and power unit is located in an area close to the Forum 2004 and connects to the buildings through underground tunnels. All new buildings are required by law to connect to this system and there is only one point of connection per block, which means that the buildings need to be designed specifically to be able to get these services by connecting to adjacent buildings. The combined heat and cooling unit dramatically reduces the amount of CO₂ that would be used if the buildings used more conventional heating systems but occupiers and owners complain that the price for these services is high in comparison to a normal system.

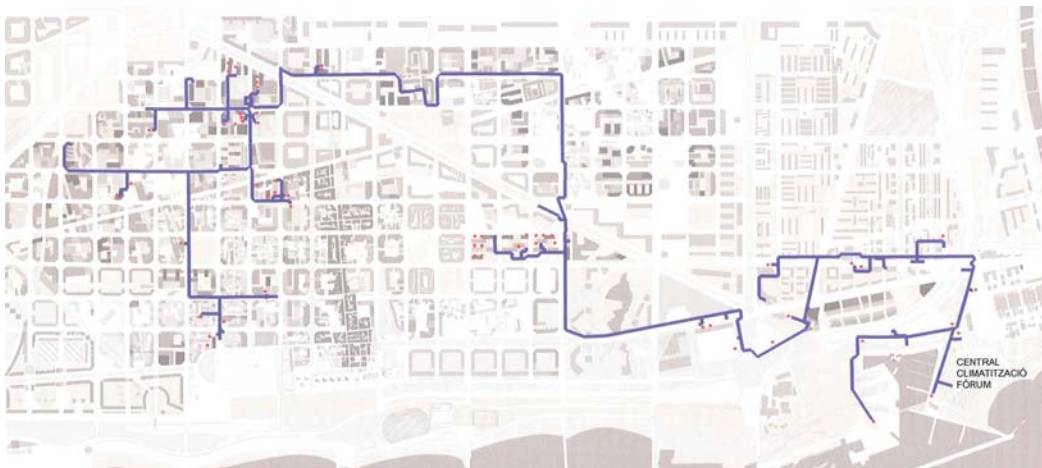


Figure 7.11 – Main layout of the combined heat and power network with the production unit located close to the Forum 2004 (bottom right) (Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2010b)

The installation of fibre optic cables is critical in terms of ensuring that high-tech businesses are attracted to the area. The unique element with this installation is that the public sector installs the system and then it is rented by private providers which ensures that roads do not need to be dug up every time a new provider wants to connect to a new client. The pneumatic waste collection system was also installed as part of the infrastructure plan. This

focuses on dealing with household waste from residential development but also waste from offices. The system helps reduce the need for waste collection vehicles and waste disposal bins. The electricity network is based on a local unit that provides five times more power than a conventional system.

The environmental sustainability of the project has therefore been focused around the idea of sustainable infrastructure being put in place early in the project through public sector leadership. The emphasis on high performance buildings has been less pronounced than in Hamburg but once again it can be seen that environmental sustainability has been taken forward most proactively by the public sector.

Social Sustainability

The social sustainability of 22@ is a key element for consideration because of the context of the site. As opposed to other regeneration projects the 22@ project wanted to transform an area that was already operating as a fully functioning element of the city and although it was clear that the area needed to change it is always more problematic to change an area which has a strong economic history and a vibrant local community.

At the beginning of the process, the city authority made a considerable effort to ensure that the local community was engaged in the process and that their views were heard and taken into consideration. Indeed, the reaction from the local community was not overtly negative at the beginning with many considering it necessary for the area to change. As the process moved forward, however, it became clear that the process was one which was being imposed in a top-down manner but in many cases it was still possible for local community groups to influence decision making processes such as the creation and implementation of the Heritage Protection Plan.

Apart from this, the development process in itself also tries to ensure that social infrastructure is developed alongside the more corporate development. This includes provisions for schools, green areas, social housing and other social infrastructure. The very nature of the planning and development process tries to ensure that the existing elements of the urban fabric that can be kept and enhanced are done so. In many regeneration projects there is an emphasis on creating a completely new urban environment but this is not the case for 22@. The process ensures that the urban renewal and incorporation of the new knowledge economy sits alongside the older urban fabric of the area and therefore starts to create an urban environment that feels authentic and the new 22@ project is just another stage in the long evolution of the local area.

Economic Sustainability

The economic sustainability of the project is focused around the idea of knowledge industries and the potential of these sectors to be the key growth engines of the future economy. Poblenou had become an area where the majority of businesses were not focused towards the modern economy and in this sense had little hope of creating a new engine for employment. The strategy with the 22@ has been to use the valuable inner city location to create businesses that use land intensively and need people who are highly qualified. The approach to achieving this was firstly orientated around the 6 engines which were public sector led and has now moved on to the concept of clusters which will help to ensure synergies not only between start-ups and larger scale businesses but also between public and private sector organisations.

The last 10 years have seen dramatic changes in the 22@ and this is likely to continue albeit at a slower rate because of the economic crisis. The area has proven attractive for many businesses partly due to its central location but also because of the surrounding uses and the context which appeals to many high-tech workers.

In addition to the overall economic strategy of the project it is also important to consider the viability of the project at a more local level. All development plans are heavily influenced by the nature of the market and in particular the demand for a certain type of use. In this case, the main element of the 22@ project is focused around office development, especially as the only type of new housing that is permitted is social housing. All other housing on the site is the renovation of existing residential units or “non-conventional” housing such as lofts (live-work units).

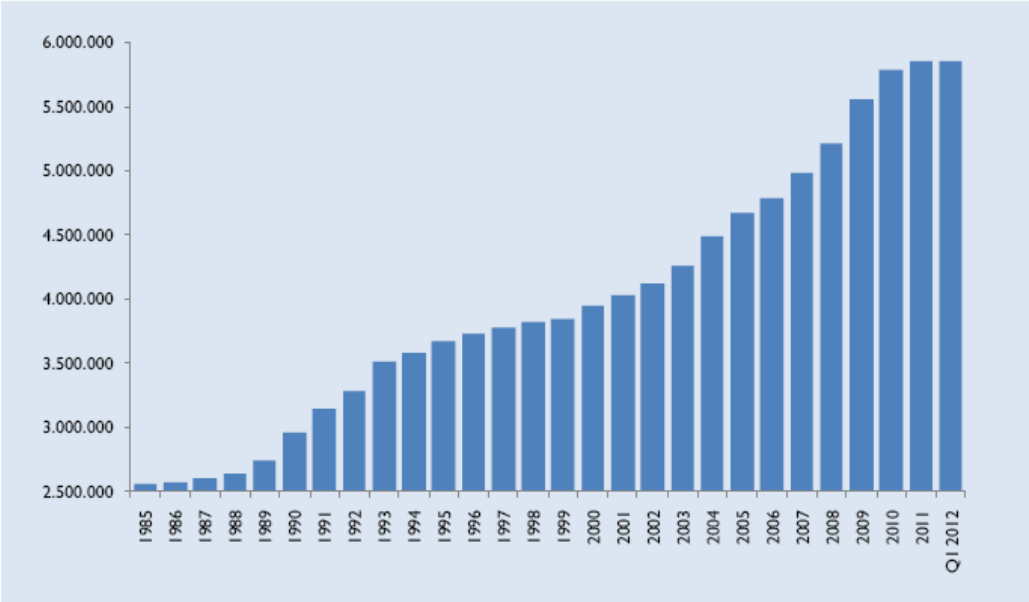


Table 7.12 – Barcelona’s office stock evolution (Source: Cushman Wakefield Office Market Presentation)

With this in mind, the importance and health of the office market in Barcelona was paramount for the success of the 22@ project. Luckily, for Barcelona, the project started more than ten years ago when the office market was buoyant and the demand for office space could be seen clearly by both developers and their financial backers. This situation continued through the 2000s until 2008 when the global financial crisis started and the Spanish property bubble began to fade. Up until this moment the development processes that were put in place at 22@ worked well because local property and land owners could be easily convinced by

developers and other interested parties that they stood to gain as part of the proposals and they should think about selling their assets. When the market started to turn, however, everything became more difficult because not only was it more difficult to convince land owners to sell but it was also much more difficult to convince investment funds and banks to lend money to developers.

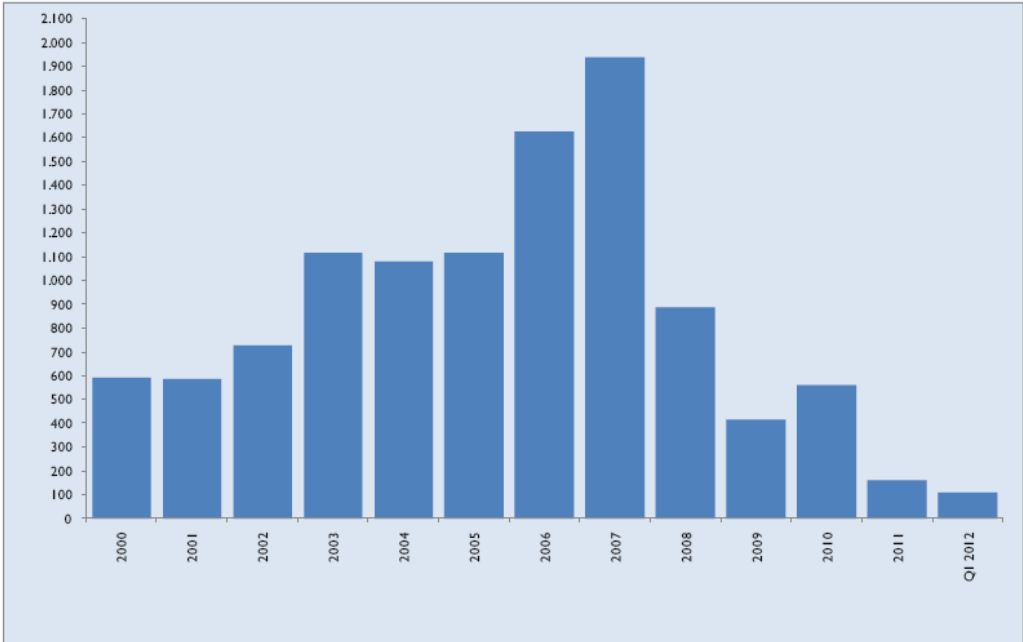


Table 7.13 – Investment volume in Barcelona office market 2000-2012 (Source: Cushman Wakefield Office Market Presentation)

This brings us to the situation today where the demand for office uses in Barcelona as a whole is low and this means that very few development projects are moving forward at the moment.

“Barcelona has generally had good levels of growth in terms of its office market but this has dissipated over the last few years”.

Property Agent

“Land values at the peak were 2200 euros per m2 and since then the market has changed dramatically and now the same land could be closer to 400 euros per m2. That is obviously a huge change but that is the way the markets work. The banks at the moment have a lot of buildings on their books and they are not really sure what to do with them and they do not want to finance other building projects so there is a big problem. Another element that is influential is the fact that there is very little pre-letting at the moment which increases the risk for developers and banks do not like risk at the moment so you have a situation where credit is very difficult to get hold of for developers. That is of course all to do with where we are in the cycle. Too much office was built so now we have a situation where there is less demand which is a problem.”

Property Agent

Other than the market itself, it is interesting to consider why companies have chosen to locate in the 22@ area. At the beginning of the process when the main focus was the 6 engines, considerable emphasis was placed on attracting large public sector organisations to the area but the private sector was also targeted. In the end, the private sector was attracted for a number of reasons and this was largely to do with economics and location rather than the philosophy of the 22@ project. For many companies the 22@ area was interesting because the rental rates were and are lower than in central areas such as Passeig de Gracia. These lower rates combined with the fact that 22@ is still centrally located and offered newer premises which companies could use to consolidate their various operations was an important element in the decision making process for companies.

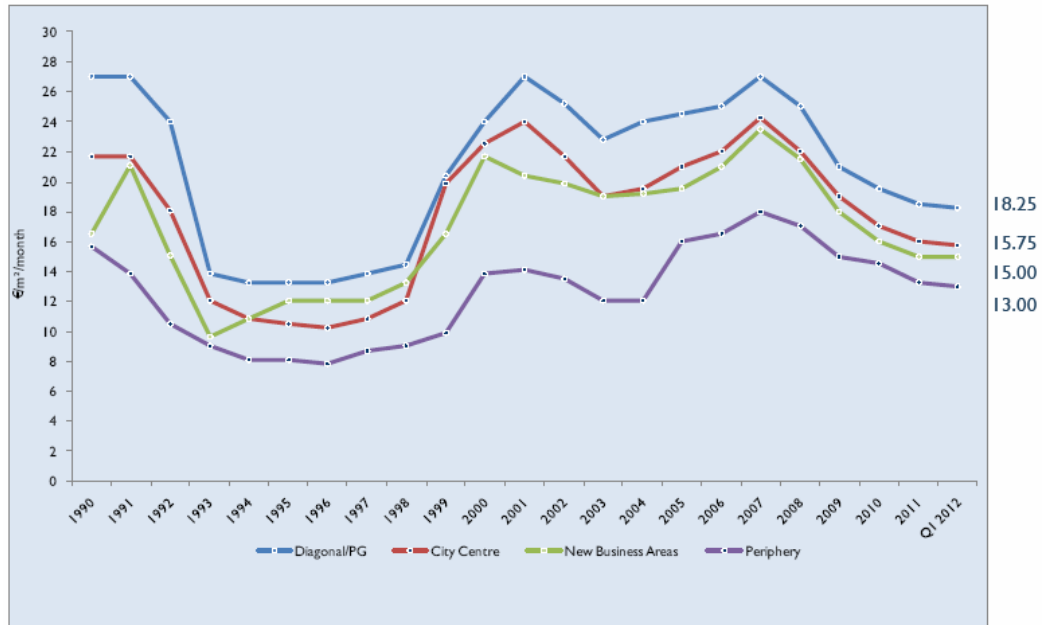


Figure 7.14 – Prime rental by submarket in Barcelona (22@ is included in “New business areas) (Source: Cushman Wakefield Office Market Presentation)

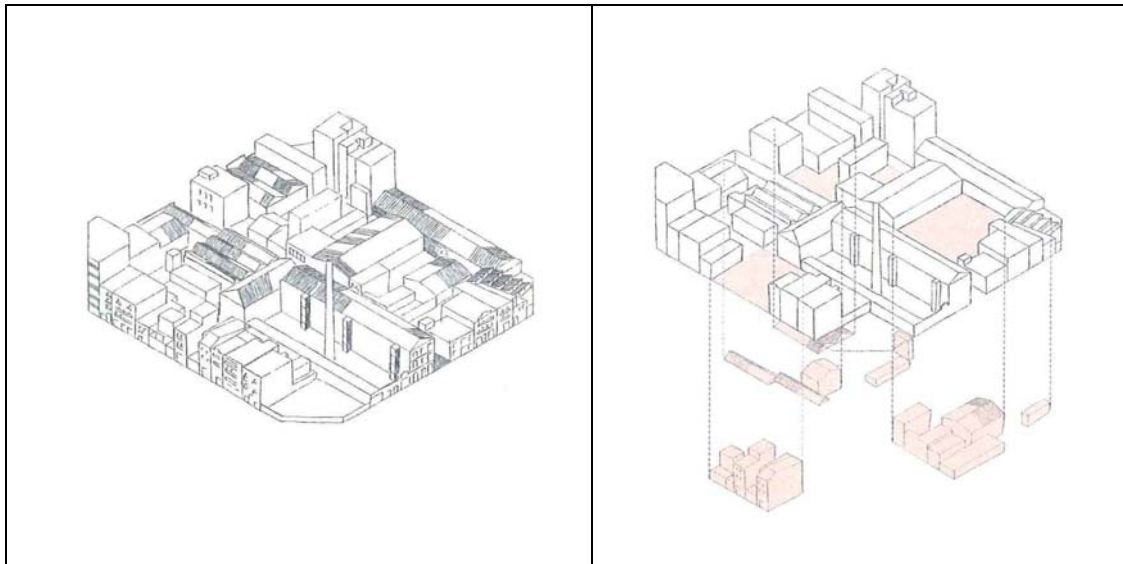
The literature about 22@ highlights that hundreds of new companies have been attracted to the 22@ area. In general terms, the city authority states that more than 4,500 new businesses have been attracted to 22@ and that 50% of them are new businesses (Ajuntament de Barcelona).

The development process has had a considerable impact on the economic sustainability of the 22@ project. The land has always remained in private hands for this project in Barcelona so the ability to shape what has come forward has been done through planning regulations. The engines that were started at the beginning of the process were able to establish some key elements but after these were established the rest of the project was given over to the private market and while lots of development has come forward the comprehensive nature of the end result could be put in question.

The Development Process

The 22@ project was never created with an overall masterplan in mind. Instead, the project was envisaged as a flexible vision where existing elements of the urban fabric whether that was buildings or businesses could be retained and new uses and businesses added so as to create a new vibrant quarter which would include both the new and the older elements of the area.

When the project was officially started in the year 2000, the city authority created the new use designation which on the one hand encouraged business and knowledge uses but at the same omitted other more industrial uses that were considered detrimental to the overall vision of the area.



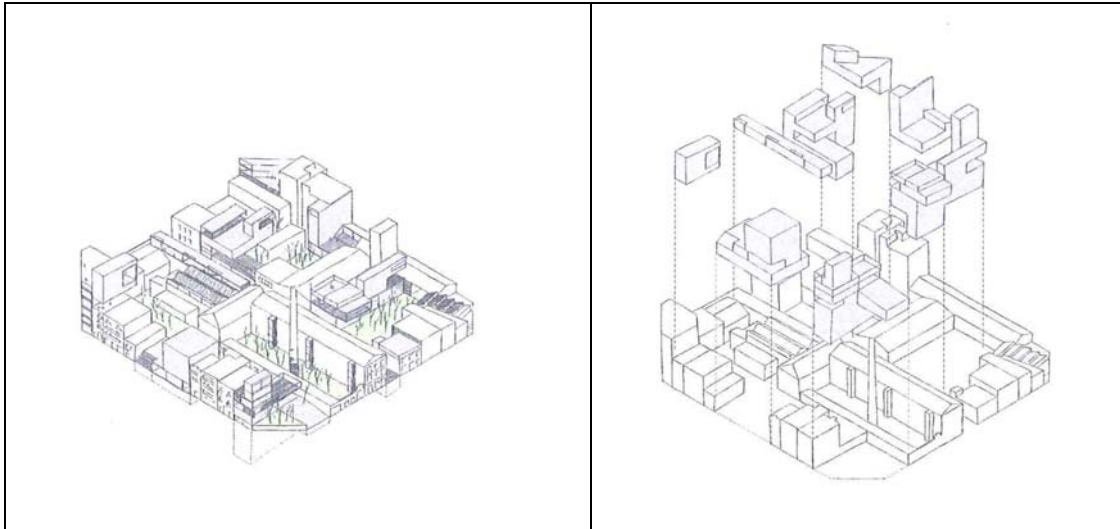


Figure 7.15: A graphic representation of how the development process in the 22@ area has worked.

Starting top left and then clockwise: Phase 1 – Existing urban fabric, Phase 2 - Removal of redundant uses and buildings, Phase 3 – New infill development, Phase 4 – Final result (Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2010b)

The new designation meant that a few of the existing businesses in the area needed to relocate and this was done in conjunction with the city authority during the first few years of the project.

“Another mistake that they did was to force some of the existing businesses that were located in 22@ out. This was a mistake because those businesses were employing about 3000 people so it was an immediate loss of employment. They were trying to create a mixed use area but there were some uses that they did not want. The approach was wrong they should have allowed those uses to stay and incorporate them in some way.”

Historic environment group

One of the key elements of the project is the understanding that the land within the 22@ area is mostly privately owned. At the time, it was not possible for the city authority to purchase any land because it had limited financial resources. This was partly due to the fact that the

city had invested heavily in the 1992 Olympics projects and did not have enough capital to embark on purchasing land from private landowners. It was clear from the beginning of the process that the city authorities would need to work with private landowners if the project was to be successful.

“The land was not publicly owned and so the land was in private hands and the idea was that you have a plot of land and then the municipality would suggest that you move to another place but then the land could be redeveloped at a higher density than was usually the case. So the private developer would come to the 22@ and then it would be able to develop but at the same time it would force the developer to pay a percentage to the council. The idea was that the conditions had changed so developers would be more interested.”

Academic 3

The creation of the new 22@ designation and the 22@ project in general brought with it a lot of interest from both developers and local landowners because both of these groups saw that they could potentially benefit from the project. The new designation meant that the land could now accommodate much higher value land uses and as such could provide windfalls for those who owned land.

It was clear that the city authority needed to try and structure the process and give clear indications to the local landowners about what was and was not permitted by the new designation. One of the key problems at the beginning of the process was how to deal with land owners who wanted to redevelop their property and those that didn't. The city authority therefore established the rule that if 60% of the land owners within a block wanted to redevelop their land then this would oblige the rest of the block to do so as well. If only 40% wanted to redevelop the land then the block would have to be redeveloped in a more

piecemeal manner. Other options involved redeveloping just half of the block, remodelling of 2000m² plots or redevelopment to ensure continuous frontages.

The process outlined above is a simplification because as one can imagine a piece of urban land does not just have landowners it also has tenants, leaseholders, occupiers and a whole range of other stakeholders that need to be taken into account but in the main the process outlined above was the general rule. At the beginning of the process which started in 2000 the market for office development was buoyant and as time progressed the market continued to get stronger. It was relatively easy to convince landowners that redeveloping their land would be the sensible option. The process therefore started to operate smoothly with individual landowners agreeing to sell their land to developers who then built out the site and remunerated the original landowners once the development had been completed.

“Our job was easy during the early stage of the 22@ project because it was quite easy to convince land owners that it was in their interest to sell their land, this has more recently become a lot more difficult because of the situation of the office market”

Property Developer 1

The actual process of redevelopment can be best described by the density calculation that the 22@Barcelona would impose. This can be seen in the diagram below:

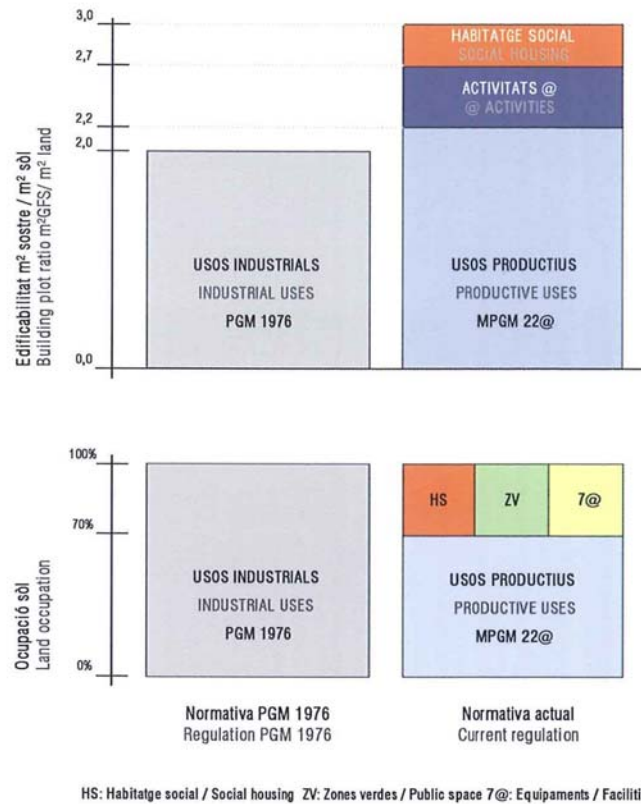


Figure 7.16: Redevelopment requirements for buildings in 22@ (Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2010b)

As the Figure 7.16 shows, the original land area can only be redeveloped to a maximum of 70% and the remaining 30% has to be used for @facilities (10%), social housing (10%) and green areas (10%). In terms of density an increase from 2 to 3 built m² / m² of land is possible but this must incorporate 20% of space given over to @activities and an additional element given over to social housing. If development proposals do not provide these elements then the higher density index can not be applied. There is therefore an incentive for developers to include these two elements in their proposals and more specifically sign up a technology/knowledge company to occupy the building once complete. In addition to this, there must also be a financial contribution to the special infrastructure plan which has installed all the new infrastructure in the area.

“One of the best ways to understand the development process for the 22@ project is the density calculation because this gives a very clear indication about how the development process provides an incentive to the private sector but ensures that public facilities are also provided for the local area”.

Academic 1

This approach ensures a number of key elements for both the private and public operators. On the one hand, the private sector landowners can see that they have the opportunity to develop land uses on their land that have much higher value and they will benefit financially from this transformation. On the other hand the public sector must ensure that the development is business/knowledge focused as well as serving the local community and this is guaranteed by the density incentive offered and that the land owner must put aside 30% of the land for social elements that have been described above. The increase in density also ensures that land is not only used efficiently but also contributed to the ideas and philosophies of the compact city model where uses are in close proximity and travel times are reduced.

The development process has been able to encourage sustainable approaches through a strong planning policy framework that is set in law as well as specific public intervention and investment in sustainable infrastructure. Other than this, the way in which density is emphasised and the idea of the compact city is reinforced, also helps to ensure that a sustainable end result is guaranteed.

7.6 Conclusion

22@ is a project that was begun by the public sector and run by the public sector and in that way it reflects very much the process that was undertaken in Hamburg. The power relations

between the different actors is also very similar in that both projects used a development corporation to deliver the projects and there were specialised teams that were set up for the long term management of the process. The difference between the projects, however, revolves around the fact that in Barcelona the city authorities needed to deal with a whole variety of different land owners because they were not able to purchase land through a land assembly process. This has had a stark impact on the development process of the 22@ project because although the project is run and managed by the city authority, a large part of the project depends on private individuals making a decision in favour of change and while the public sector can encourage this through higher density allowances, this will not always be enough to encourage owners to sell their land.

This simple fact that landownership remained in private hands has considerable implications about the power relations in a project. As opposed to the Hamburg situation the power remains in the hands of private individuals and those private individuals have the prerogative to control their land as they wish. It must be highlighted that within the Spanish planning system there is the ability to force landowners to cooperate with their neighbours especially those within the same perimeter block.

As a result of these development process differences the Barcelona project, which although could be considered in many cases as successful, does not have the same comprehensive approach as that used in Hamburg. The Hamburg project is being built out from west to east because it is being controlled in that way. The Barcelona project, on the other hand, is more exposed to the whim of different landowners and therefore can not be controlled to the same degree. Indeed, much like the Hamburg case study it is somewhat unique especially with regard to scale but it does provide a good example of how to approach a situation where a complex landowner arrangement is in place.

Which of these two approaches is better is difficult to assess because in most situations the idea of land assembly by the public authority is impossible because of a lack of funds, a lack of political will because the process is controversial or the risk involved is considered too high for a public authority to take on. Despite this, it is interesting to note that in cases where land assembly is possible and the public authority has both the finances and the skills to deal with the process, a number of advantages are to be had and these advantages can lead to ensuring that a more sustainable end product is produced which focuses more on the long term public good rather than short term developer profits.

Despite these differences, it is possible to see that public management of the development process is both common on the continent and places more power into the hands of the public agencies and as a consequence more emphasis is placed on the public good and issues such as sustainability therefore come more to the fore. This is an interesting point from which to start to look at the development processes that are used in England and how these compare to the two continental case studies already examined. The next chapter will focus on the English context and compare and contrast the continental approaches with those normally taken in England and more specifically the power arrangements that normally prevail.

CHAPTER 8 - CASE STUDY (MAJOR ENGLISH URBAN REGENERATION PROJECTS)

8.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide a review of experience in England with regard to the development processes of large scale sustainable regeneration projects on brownfield sites. More specifically, it is an opportunity to set out the contrasts with the processes that have been outlined in the two previous chapters and explore the differences and similarities of the systems in each of the countries. This chapter will seek to explore how the day to day development processes in England work but at the same time refer back to the experience from the continent and where possible seek to demonstrate where learning or policy transfer could occur. It is through this that it will be possible to see how and when the various development processes can have a positive or negative influence on the ability to bring forward sustainable development.

The chapter has been broken down into a number of different sections which includes government structure, the planning system, development agencies, land ownership, sustainability and a reflection on the current economic context. These sections have been included because they relate directly back to the analytical framework that was established for the project and help to ensure that a complete picture is created about how development process can shape the way in which sustainable development is brought forward and who needs to be involved in order to increase the likelihood of success. Firstly, however, a small review of large scale English regeneration projects will be provided to give some context to the continental examples that already have been considered.

It should be highlighted that the fact that this chapter is an overview of general practice in England it could be construed that the thesis is not comparing like for like taking into account that the two previous case study chapters were on specific projects. This issue was

considered carefully while the thesis was being written and it was decided that this approach represented the best method through which to get a specific impression from abroad and then apply those lessons to the English context in general.

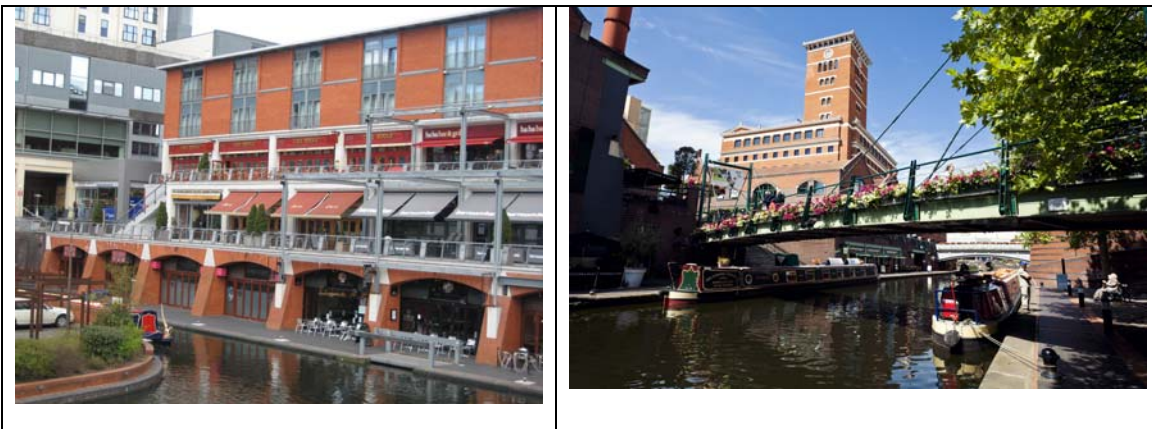
8.2 Regeneration Projects in England

The aim of this chapter is not to provide an exhaustive overview of regeneration projects in England but to give an introduction to some of the most well known regeneration projects that have been or are being completed in England. Regeneration in England started in the late 1970s with the decline of the industrial sector and has become increasingly prominent through the 1980s and 1990s. The first major steps in urban regeneration were taken by the Thatcher government when they brought forward sites such as the London Dockland (see below) in an effort to energise the economy and accelerate the change from an industrial economy to one of services (Carmona, 2009). The Blair government also pushed forward the idea of urban regeneration albeit with a slightly different stance and philosophy that emphasised the importance of the community, design and sustainability rather than just economics. The subsequent Rogers report (Urban Task Force, 1999) helped to integrate this approach even more into the wider urban policy framework in England as a whole and from this point onwards sustainable urban regeneration has become the panacea in planning circles. Indeed, it could be argued that England was able to show considerable success in the regeneration field from 1990 to 2008 with examples such as Liverpool One, Manchester city centre and Brindleyplace in Birmingham (Adams & Tiesdell, 2013).

One of the largest regeneration projects that has ever been brought forward in England were the London Docklands. This area of London was identified by the Thatcher government as an area which could absorb the growth of the banking sector which could not be located in the City (Carmona, 2009). The relative success of the Docklands is hard to gauge because it can be considered a success in terms of attracting large scale investment and providing

highly paid jobs but on the other hand its ability to change the neighbouring communities and improve the lives of the communities that live adjacent to the development has often been questioned. Beyond these concerns, however, the Docklands remain an early example of what can be achieved on brownfield land in inner city locations.

Other projects that have come to the fore include the regeneration of Manchester city centre, Brindleyplace in Birmingham and Butlers Wharf in London. Two more recent examples are Liverpool One and Kings Cross. Liverpool One was a comprehensive regeneration project that involved the regeneration of a large section of the city centre with new development focused around retail uses. The project was brought forward by Grosvenor in connection with Liverpool City Council and involved the use of CPO to ensure comprehensive development.



Brindleyplace was a project that was brought forward in the 90s and for many years was the showcase for urban regeneration in England. The project was developed by Argent and helped to transform the image of Birmingham from a place that was car dominated to an attractive place to visit and enjoy.

Figure 8.1: Brindleyplace (Source: BrindleyPlace.com)



Liverpool One is a project that was designed by Building Design Partnership and includes the regeneration of a large section of land in central Liverpool. It was developed in the late 00s and the development is mainly focused around retail uses that are organised on dual level shopping streets. The project was focused around using brownfield land that had become redundant over the years. It was a joint partnership between Liverpool City Council and the developer Grosvenor and therefore could bring together both the strengths of the private and public sectors.

Figure 8.2: Liverpool One (Source: Liverpool-one.com)

The Kings Cross regeneration project is still underway. Located in the heart of London the project has been many years in waiting but was propelled forward by the construction of High Speed One which now runs from St Pancras Station. The investment that was put into High Speed One and the new St Pancras terminal helped to change perceptions of what was a run down area. These changes made it possible for Argent to come forward with a development proposal that has since been taken forward and is now in the final stages of development.



Kings Cross has been brought forward by the developer Argent. Argent has previous experience in urban regeneration schemes because it was involved with Brindleyplace in Birmingham. The land at Kings Cross was largely in private hands but was brought together by Argent which then put forward a development scheme to Camden Council. The project has therefore been driven forward by private sector financing.

Figure 8.3: King Cross Regeneration Project (Source: KingsCross.co.uk)

8.3 Government Structure and Public Sector Leadership

Government structure holds an important position in terms of understanding how development processes work in different countries and this in turn can have important implications with regard to the ability of the public sector to lead regeneration projects. In England, power has traditionally been held centrally with only limited powers being given to local authorities (Allmendinger 2011). This has brought forward a situation where local authorities are constantly being monitored in terms of their performance and being assessed as to whether their level of service provision is up to standard. This approach has considerable implications for regeneration partly because regeneration often needs to be kick started with public funds and needs joined up thinking between local authorities. (Parr 2007) (Harvey 1989).

The government structure in England operates in a considerably different way to both Germany and Spain (Newman & Thornley, 1996). This difference can be seen to have an influence on the way regeneration processes operate in England. Firstly, because of the general perception of a lack of power and influence, local authorities in England are forced to “work the system”. They need to engage with initiatives of central government to access funding (where they may or may not be successful) without which they would find it very difficult to operate but at the same time they can often find it difficult to move forward with a regeneration project on their own because of financial constraints and a lack of political will at local levels. Bringing forward large scale regeneration projects that are not specifically linked to central government initiatives is therefore difficult in some situations (Allmendinger, 2011). This issue was emphasised by a development agency expert:

“In the UK there is no tradition of autonomous self government at all. It is all centrally controlled by the treasury. Everything that is given to local authorities can be withdrawn at any time. In terms of power, if developers get any lip from local authorities in the UK they go around the back to speak to people at Whitehall. The UK has been a unified state since 1066 whereas Germany has only been unified since 1870 with major turbulence along the way. Most major projects in the UK are always focused around London and those projects have been good for consulting companies who can show their international clients what they have done.”

Development Agency Consultant

This has the further ramification that most local authorities are placed in a weak position through their dependence on and constriction by central government (Rhodes, 1996). The fact that funds are controlled and given out by central government can lead to a situation where local public sector leadership is brought into question. From the outset little trust is given to the local authorities from central government. This in turn creates a situation where

the local authority has to continually prove that it is performing to the right standards. This situation does not promote trust and it also weakens the power of local politicians (many of whom are also not trusted by central government). This issue of mistrust is then carried through to the private sector which must deal with the local authorities but has a general mistrust of the public sector to deliver the visions that it creates (Hoeppner, 2009). This creates a situation where the emphasis is on the private sector to deliver projects and local authorities start to act in a reactive manner rather than a proactive one (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). This issue was highlighted by a local authority planning officer:

“...most power is held centrally in the UK and central government is reluctant to give that power away. Even if you asked Boris Johnson I am sure he would also feel that the GLA doesn't have enough power. Of course you need to remember that the really big regeneration projects often cover more than one authority and then you need to deal with even more politics, so in a way there could be a role for regional government structure there. Overall, though, the politics can get very messy and central government does not trust the local government to deliver those schemes and local government is very disjointed and fragmented. So I think it is the political set up as well as the local authorities not having the expertise to deliver either. So it is a catch 22. The central government does not want to give power and local authorities can not learn because they don't have the power. Of course there has been lots of experimentation with regional government but it has never worked and there has never been real devolution of power. I really can't see the solution. I guess on the continent regional government must have more power.”

Local Authority Officer 1

As a consequence of this, local authorities often have to work on very limited budgets and can have problems recruiting highly skilled individuals because there is the sense that local authorities are limited in their ability to create and deliver change. This becomes a vicious

circle and in the end is detrimental to public sector leadership. A few of the interviewees suggested that regeneration processes are focused around key individuals that want to drive projects forward and without these “champions” it would often be difficult to achieve comprehensive change. In this case we are focusing on the public sector but these characters could equally be found in private sector organisations as well. An urban design consultant emphasised this issue:

“The key thing about delivery and long term masterplans is that you need a “champion”.

Urban Design Consultant 1

The problem with trying to ensure that the public sector has these types of leaders is that local power is very much limited and therefore these types of leadership “champions” might not be attracted to such posts. There was also discussion of the possibility of installing a mayor and the benefits this might have in ensuring that local power is more tangible and might give more confidence to the private development sector. If these regeneration “champions” are to be effective they need to have the support that is necessary and that may mean, as in both the case in Hamburg and Barcelona, that the “champion” has a dedicated team to help them steer the development process and that the resources required to do this are not underestimated. This approach was reinforced by a comment made by an urban design consultant:

“I think this is a chicken and egg situation. I think if you advertise a job where you say that the position will be a long term project and that the person would have control over the development agency I think you would find the right type of person but yes generally local authorities are lacking the vision to equip themselves for this type of thing. As soon as you get out into the sticks it gets more difficult.”

Urban Design Consultant 1

It was clear from the interviews that at the moment most of the activities that local authorities engage in are largely reactive rather than taking the initiative with development. Most local authorities in England, it seems, are developing policies that help to manage the private market rather than creating visions that help shape the development market (Osborne and Gaebler, 1992). This contrasts significantly with the continental approach and significantly changes the role of the planner from one which creates visions and shapes cities to one in which the main objective is to ensure that policies have been complied with and/or whether the development would go through on appeal. An urban design consultant commented that:

"We find in the UK that most of the time the local authority is on the back foot...you get the situation where the masterplan comes forward from the local authority side but when the developer comes along they effectively impose their vision rather than adhering to the masterplan that was created by the local authority. So then the local authority has to backtrack and create some policy that fits the developer's key ideas. I think the model is good in Hamburg and it seems they have the political power there."

Urban Design Consultant 1

The difference between these approaches could not be more significant and has an important influence in defining how planners see their role in the development process.

8.4 Development Agencies

Both case study projects on the continent use site specific development agencies that were set up locally and are controlled locally by local politicians. This is an approach that has been used to a limited degree in England but most of the time such organisations are created from national levels in England rather than local levels such as was the case for the Docklands which was managed through the London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC)

(Carmona, 2009) and the more recent Olympic Park which also used a development agency, both of which were created through intervention of national government.

“The key thing with a development agency is that the head of the development agency can become the champion and the development agency is detached from the politics of the local authority and once a local authority has set up a development agency they can not stop it until the end of the project. So it does not succumb to the internal politics of the local authority as would be the case if the development agency were set up internally. So in the end I think it is a good idea for two reasons, the first being that you can create a champion for the project and secondly it is detached from the politics of the local authority.”

Urban Design Consultant 1

Through the interviews that were conducted some felt that local development agencies could be beneficial but that it would be difficult to set up in England because most development agencies have traditionally been controlled by central government and have in many cases taken power away from local communities (Carmona, 2009). Others felt that because every development is unique it is very difficult to suggest that one model will fit all development processes and that development processes largely depend on a variety of differing factors that need to be considered specifically (Adams and Tiesdell, 2013). This issue was reinforced by an economic consultant:

“I think we have tried it (development agencies) with a range of different situations and there is no doubt they can work but you need to be careful to ensure that they are not overly focused towards either economic development or housing. It needs to have a balanced approach if we are going to create sustainable neighbourhoods”

Economic Consultant 1

Others thought that it could be a good idea and that it could give local communities and local authorities more power over the developments that come forward. Much was mentioned about the problem of what is or is not included in the development area as this can cause issues of “us and them” where surrounding locations around the development area fail to improve because of the initiative creating a big gulf between what has been identified for regeneration and what has not.

8.5 Land Ownership and Power

“Land ownership is a far more powerful way to deliver strategic transformation than is planning control. When deployed effectively, it can shape markets by creating certainty, enhancing confidence and reducing developer risk.” (Adams and Tiesdell, 2013)

The issues of land ownership can have a strong influence on the ability to bring forward regeneration projects (Goodchild and Munton, 1985). The problem with land ownership is that every project is slightly different and no one model can be singled out as being the best approach. This issue was highlighted by a property consultant:

“Brindleyplace, Liverpool One, King Cross, Crown Street, Canary Wharf. All of them are interesting and for me when I look at the issue of regeneration one of the key elements that always comes out is the importance of land ownership which is an issue that is quite different here in the UK in comparison with continental examples.”

Property Consultant

The diagrams below provide further explanation of the different land ownership issues in the case studies as well as the situation at Kings Cross in London. The diagrams provide both an indication of the development process and the way in which land ownership is dealt with in each particular case but they also provide an insight into the power differentials between the

players involved in the development process. Power and the ability to steer a project is often connected to property rights because where the local authority has ownership of the land it also has a greater ability to exercise its view and approach. In cases where the land is owned by a wide variety of different land owners the ability of a local authority to control the development process is reduced and can only be influenced by planning laws/policies (Adams and Tiesdell, 2013). This brings forward the situation where a local authority can steer the development but can not get involved in the finer detail of the project which is often the key to making sustainable urban environments.

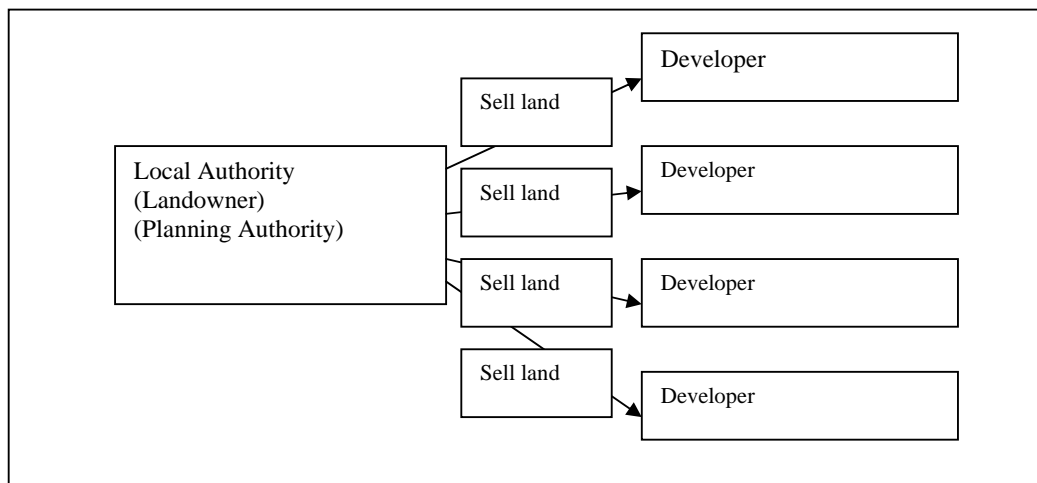


Figure 8.4: The development process in Hamburg (After a land assembly process at the beginning of the project the Local Authority/Development Agency sells land to developers on its own terms, therefore keeping a strong control over the project quality and delivery)

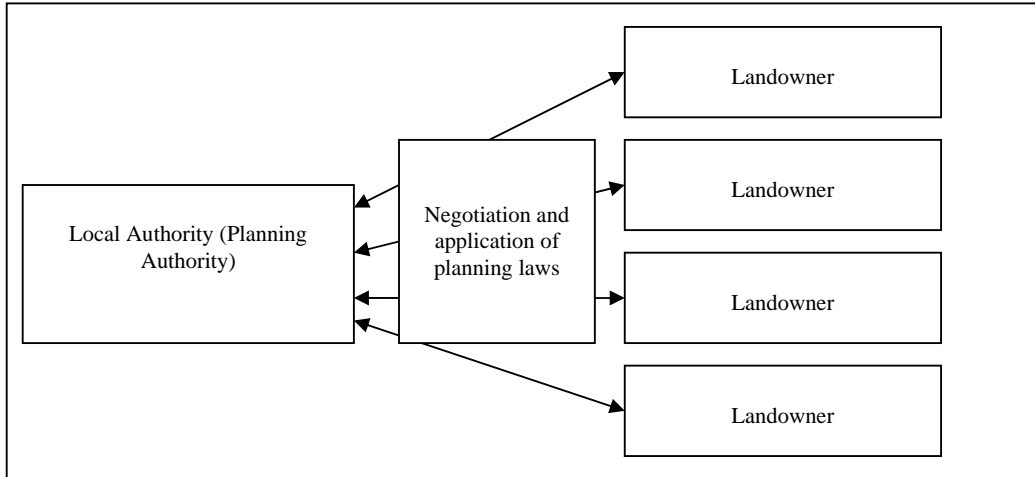


Figure 8.5: The development process at Barcelona 22@ (The local authority/development agency needs to deal with a variety of different landowners. Here power is shared but because the planning policies in Spain are based in law the local authority can retain more power than would be the case in England)

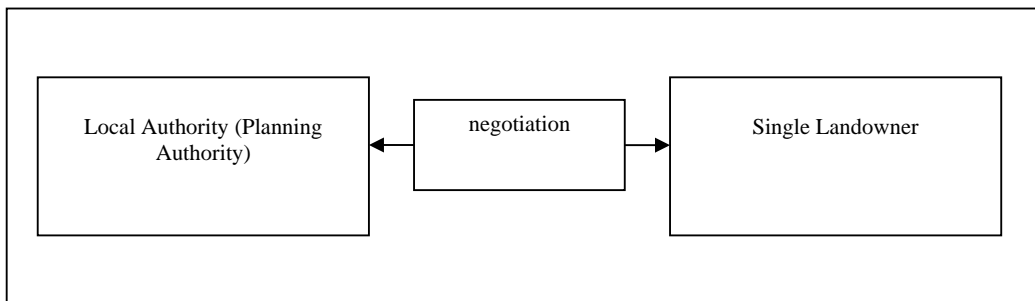


Figure 8.6: The development process at Kings Cross (A single private landowner has all the land and creates a strong link with the local authority to ensure good communication between the two. Here power is shared between the public and private sectors but the majority of power remains in the private sector because of their landholding)

Single land ownership (or land owned by active landowners) is considered by some to be critical in ensuring the success of regeneration projects (Adams et al, 1995) (Adams and Tiesdell, 2013). The interviewees suggested that because of the complex nature of large scale inner city regeneration projects it can be very useful if the land is brought under single ownership.

In many situations this approach may be difficult because the sites are in city centre locations where single land ownership is less common. The processes that can be used to help land assembly are therefore important but are hampered in many cases in England because of the reluctance of local authorities to use their Compulsory Purchase Order (CPO) powers either due to the complexity of doing so or a lack of funds. An academic commented on this issue that:

"I think land ownership is very important issue for regeneration but again they deal with land ownership in very different ways in different countries. Here in England CPO is very controversial because there are strong property rights in this country and a strong focus on individuality. That is not the case in other countries so it is easier for those countries to expropriate land."

Academic 1

Indeed, the proposal to bring all development land under local authority ownership would largely be impossible for most local authorities in England because of limited resources and lack of political will (See governance section) (Winter and Lloyd, 2006). This was highlighted by a local authority officer:

"We have not used CPO powers in years. And the reason we do not touch CPO is because it is so complex and very expensive. A lot of local authorities do not have the skills or the money to go and buy land especially in the current economic climate. I think there are some local authorities leading smaller projects but at the moment I can not see local authorities in the UK leading large scale regeneration projects."

Local Authority Officer 1

In larger urban authorities the resistance to using CPO powers can be less partly because these authorities are used to dealing with large scale regeneration projects and often work with private sector development partners who will often subsidise the CPO process (Adams and Tiesdell, 2013). Another local authority officer commented on this issue:

“We have worked with private sector development partners on several projects and we often get them to pay for the CPO processes that need to be carried out”

Local Authority Officer 4

In addition to this, single land ownership, whether on the private or public side, was considered useful by a number of interviewees because of the way in which a single landowner can engage with the local authority and ensure that a good line of communication is opened between the private and public sector. A local authority officer expanded on this issue:

“Yes I think it is important to have one landowner because it helps to keep things simple. It does not matter so much whether it is a public or a private landowner but it does help when the land is in just a few hands. I think this arrangement also helps with vision documents as well because as was the case at Kings Cross, the landowner was able to create their vision, we were able to create our vision and that then helped us to create a combined vision from the beginning. Which I think is very important.”

Local Authority Officer 1

Another way in which to look at this is the land situation during the development process. The diagram below shows the process that was adopted by Hamburg.

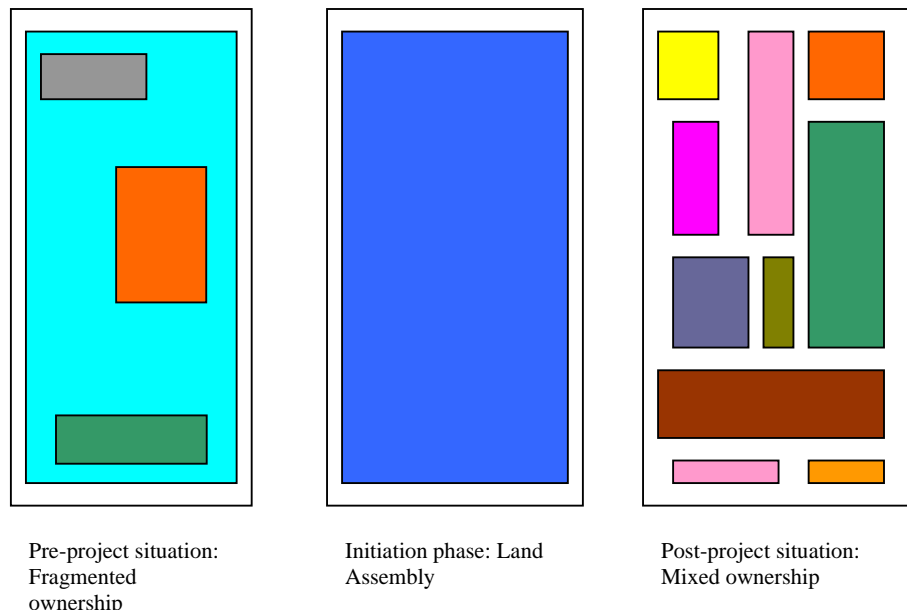


Figure 8.7: Land ownership in Hamburg Hafencity (colours indicate different landowners) (adapted from Adams and Tiesdell, 2013)

The development process in Hamburg can be summarised through these diagrams. The first shows the situation in terms of land ownership at the start of the process which was characterised through a large landholding owned by the port authority. Other than this, there were also other pieces of land that needed to be acquired and brought together through a land assembly process. Once this had been achieved the development agency went about selling plots of land to different developers who had produced the best use concept for the plot (organised through a competition). This leads to a situation where the local authority retains a very strong control of what will go on-site but also ensures that the end result is one of mixed ownership which ensures key issues such as a mixture of different developers and architects and produces a more varied cityscape that in many cases will be higher quality than if the process was purely market orientated (Adams and Tiesdell, 2013).

The Barcelona case study uses a different approach for a number of reasons. Firstly the site in Barcelona is a vibrant area of the city and while it was an industrial area before, it is still used by many different people and businesses. This means that it is difficult to consider a land assembly process for two reasons, firstly because the wider number of land owners and secondly because the local authority did not have the funds to go through a CPO process on a large scale. A different approach was adopted which involved working with the existing landowners and trying to entice them through advantageous planning regulations to sell their land. The result of this is a land ownership map which was fragmented at the beginning and remains fragmented afterwards (See Figure 8.8) and never went through a land assembly process in between. The local authority did use their CPO powers in some situations but this was mostly limited to key sites that were considered catalysts for the development as a whole. While this approach was created for the purpose of dealing with the array of different landowners, the result at the end of the process is not one of comprehensive development because some sites have come forward while others have not. This shows the power and influence of land holdings in an urban regeneration process and the advantages that a local authority can have by going through a land purchasing process at the beginning of the project.

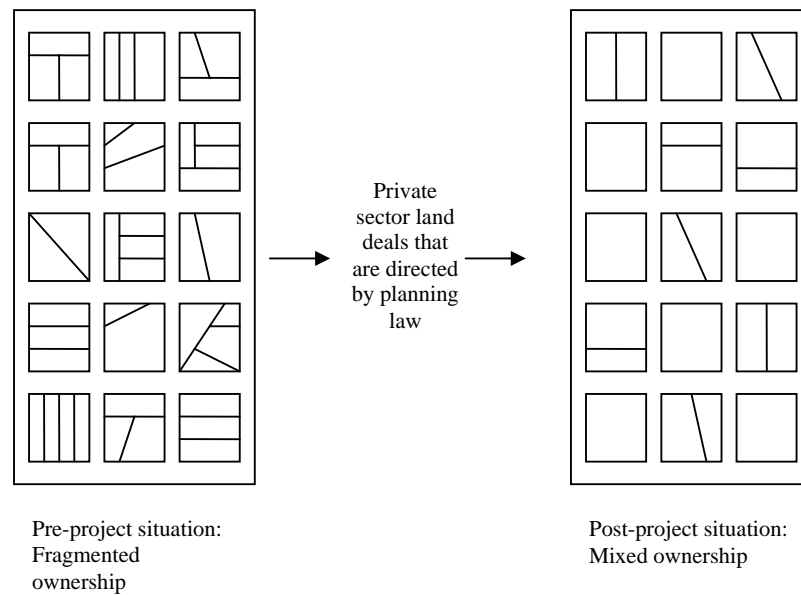


Figure 8.8: Land ownership at 22@ in Barcelona before and after the project. This project did not go through a land assembly process and therefore was not fully controlled by the public sector. (Adapted from Adams & Tiesdell, 2013)

Developer Typology

In addition to these issues it is important to make a distinction between the different types of developers that can be involved in a development process. For the purposes of this project we will call them “land developer”, “parcel developer” and “building contractor” (Adams and Tiesdell, 2013). A property consultant commented on this issue:

“...there is a very important distinction that needs to be made between landowners, developers and house builders. They are not the same thing at all and need to be defined clearly.”

Property Consultant

One of the main problems that exist in the development processes in England is that there are many short term developers involved in the process. This can include both “land developer” and “parcel developer”. The first type is involved in a situation where they try to acquire land at a low cost and try to change the designation. Once they achieve the change of designation they try to sell the land at an elevated price to another developer. If they can achieve this, then the developer often exits the process with the land value, so a large percentage of the land value is essentially lost. This represents a problem because the uplift in land values in the continental examples is often retained by a public organisation and then pumped back into infrastructure improvements which are vitally important in terms of sustainability. A property developer expanded on this issue:

“One of the biggest problems we have (in England) with land is that the land value gets ramped up because of the rival market and developers think “if I don’t get a place here what am I going to do?” So they trade land and then after that they will try and get an outline planning application and after that many of them will sell the land and just disappear but at that moment millions of pounds is leaving the regeneration process to some smug devil who has never even laid a brick or taken any risk whatsoever. He doesn’t care about the community he just disappears over the horizon with the land value. Leaving developer B who has to do everything and fight with planning to get a little value out of the site. The answer to this problem, and put a stop to all this, is to create a level playing field and let local authorities take ownership of land in all regeneration areas and then parcel it out using a transparent basis. A decent developer is not going to be bothered about owning the land, only that it can acquire the land at a reasonable price and make a profit when it builds a development and that is normal because a developer needs to get a profit from that because of the risk that they have taken on in building the development.”

Property Developer 2

The second type are the parcel developer or speculative house builder and these are often looking for a short term involvement as well because they want to build as quickly and uniformly as possible and then take the properties to market as soon as possible. This is in stark contrast to “Baugenossenschaften” in Germany for example who are involved for the long term because they are interested in renting the properties because they are a private landlord. A property consultant mentioned that:

“Brindleyplace and Caterham Barracks are also interesting examples. The common denominator for most successful schemes is a single landowner which is committed over the long term and has a vision.”

Property consultant

A long term vision to development and regeneration is therefore paramount but the more short term players are involved in the process the less likely a successful outcome can be expected. Single land ownership by a public body or development agency helps to ensure that a long term vision and leadership is achieved with a focus on the public good rather than purely a profit making exercise as can often be the case in England (Lyons, 2007) (Sweeting, 2002). A property consultant expanded on this issue:

“...if the landowner has a longer term vision and does not sell immediately then there is more of a chance of success. So if you have an organisation that has the land ownership but is also ready to take on the responsibility of masterplanning the area and dealing with infrastructure issues then you have more of a chance of success.”

Property Consultant

8.6 English Planning System and Risk

The two planning systems for the case studies are based in law and operate with considerable difference to that used in England (Newman and Thornley, 1996). Both the German and Spanish systems remove much of the risk for developers because developers can often get a very clear idea of what will be permitted on a site before they decide to buy or bid for land. A number of interviewees highlighted that this is considerably more difficult for English developers who have to deal with a planning system that makes decisions according to the development plan and “other material considerations”. This level of doubt means that English developers need to deal with high levels of risk and this risk needs to be incorporated into the overall viability of a project. This was emphasised by an urban planning consultant:

“The UK planning system we have now allows quite a lot of flexibility but at the same time that then creates some uncertainty which of course increases risk for developers.”

Planning Consultant 1

The reason that it is worth highlighting this issue is that because developers have to deal with this risky situation they can often come to the negotiations with local authorities having bought land and then take a very aggressive stance towards any hold ups to their plans. This brings about a situation where appeals are often used or parallel/backup applications made. A number of interviewees highlighted that this approach is the very opposite of a public/private partnership and can lead to a very protracted planning process which in itself can cost a lot of money for the private investor. By contrast the planning system in the two case studies establishes very clear rules that are set in law allowing developers to know where they stand and the options they have. In the Hamburg case, the process was very much local authority led and developers needed to work with the processes that were set up by the local development agency (OECD, 2010). This type of framework can have many benefits in attracting private investment.

The only way English developers can avoid the risky nature of the English planning system is to work within a specific area (Guy et al, 2002). A few of the developers interviewed highlighted that they only worked within a very specific geographic area and know the relevant people in the local authorities and through this could get a good idea whether development would be permitted or not. This issue was picked up by a property developer:

"I think that it works well. We work with very good consultants so they help us to get everything going well. It normally costs us about £5m to get a planning approval but of course there is always the unknown of committee decisions. We reduce our risk by only working with specific local authorities. We are London centric. I think we are also collegiate in our approach with local authorities which of course is not always the case with other developers but I think there are others that have the same approach as us. You need to remember that an appeal can cost £3.5m so we want to avoid that if we can and most of the time we do."

Commercial Developer

The end result of this situation in England is that the system favours large scale developer organisations (Calcutt, 2007) that can deal with the high level of development risk and other smaller developers are shut out of the process because the risks are just too high. This has very specific effects because a system that favours large scale organisations inherently means the acceptance of solutions provided by large scale organisations which are often focused around economies of scale and risk reduction. The problem with this is that good, sustainable urban environments are rarely produced by just a few players, they need to be brought forward by a wide variety of different landowners and developers (Adams & Tiesdell, 2013). It is only through an approach that allows a range of different development

organisations to get involved that a level of diversity and variety in cityscape can be achieved (Love and Crawford, 2011).

8.7 Delivering Sustainability

Sustainability, whether economic, social or environmental, remains the overarching paradigm for planning and therefore is also a key consideration when looking at development processes. While the vast majority of planning policy points towards creating sustainable urban environments the results on the ground are often less than what is hoped for (Calcutt, 2007). If this is the case it is important to understand why the policy ambitions are not delivered. The importance of investigating development processes is therefore paramount as was suggested by an English property developer:

“The process that they have in Hamburg is the right type of process. Architectural diversity, a big tick for that. Multiplicity of developers, a big tick for that. Bringing land into public sector control so there is no land speculation, an enormous tick for that. That is all spot on, but the enormous missing element (in many projects) is the lack of thought about local entrepreneurship. This is not a computer game we are playing like one of those SimCity games, where you put the infrastructure, the housing, the power station and the roads and then miraculously the people start to appear on the streets. In the UK there have been quite a lot of projects that have thought about all the issues that you have mentioned which are all very valid but in the end the projects never seem to work because nobody has thought about entrepreneurship and local community stewardship. So in other words the social side and the economic side are lacking. That is why we have failed in the UK because it has always been assumed that it is about architectural diversity, getting some buildings done and putting in some infrastructure and yes that is a little component of it but actually what you need is more

of a focus on entrepreneurship and the social elements because actually if you work on these more carefully all of the rest comes naturally anyway.”

Property Developer 2

The continental case studies that have been outlined for this piece of work were achieved through a specific approach which is not often used in England; that of a plan-led approach rather than a market-led approach. Both projects on the continent have placed the public authorities/development agencies at the heart of the development process and by doing so ensure that the private sector needs to step in line with the objectives and desires of those local authorities. The very nature of a public organisation is that they are seeking to further the public good and as such if you have the local authority at the centre of the process you can assure that issues such as sustainability, which is key to the public good, are enforced.

This needs to be given the caveat that in order to use such an approach the local authority needs to have the skills (Salamon, 2002) and knowledge of how private sector markets work and if that is missing this could lead to public mismanagement which is the perennial fear in the English development sector.

Hamburg's approach to sustainability includes ensuring that the buildings are highly insulated and energy efficient but there has been a strong focus on active ground floor uses and transport infrastructure as well. The community has been engaged and has been helped to develop by key individuals in the development agency that was set up. The economic viability and sustainability of the project has been ensured by investing heavily in infrastructure through land sale receipts and thereby ensuring the creation of value for the rest of the site and the development moves forward. So the approach to sustainability has been a comprehensive one, but one that has been shaped and orchestrated from the public sector.

The difference to the situation in England with regard to this issue is stark because the local authority is placed in a weaker position. The private sector often will come forward with a proposal to which a local authority then needs to react. Sustainability therefore is an issue that is normally included in planning policy, both national and local, but it often is sidelined if developers are able to do so. As such the critical issue as to whether a development is sustainable or not, depends on relative powers of the developer and local authority in question. This suggests that a consistent approach to the importance and implementation of sustainability is unlikely. This issue was emphasised by a local planning officer:

"I don't think the public sector [in England] has cracked the idea of owning land and delivering it. I don't know how that would work. It becomes very political as well because in the end I am a public servant and I am accountable to the local politicians who work in my borough so it gets very complex because I need to be in line with their views. In addition to that, if all the land within the regeneration project was publicly owned suddenly I would be getting lots of requests for public housing and other social infrastructure and I would have to be going back to them and explaining that to get all those things we would need some commercial development. And I probably wouldn't have won the argument. I think that lots of local politicians have very little knowledge about these sorts of things so it can be difficult to convince them."

Local Authority Officer 1

The nature of sustainable projects is that they tend to be more expensive than more conventional developments and as such are not the preferred choice for a short-term developer (developers with a long term vested interest may have a different approach) (Henneberry et al, 2011). These short term proposals with limited reference to sustainability then need to be forced by local authorities, with little power and knowledge about real estate

markets, to change their approach but this can prove difficult because a developer will always consider the possibilities of appeal if pushed.

This would suggest that real local authority knowledge is required to create a sustainable vision for a large scale urban regeneration project (Egan 2004) (Salamon, 2002). Local authorities need to be in a position to ensure that the development sector firstly, trusts that the vision is going to become a reality and secondly, that the private development sector fits into the model that has been defined by the public sector.

8.8 Conclusion

The main aim of this research is to consider sustainable development processes in differing national contexts. This chapter has focused on the English situation and it can be seen that regeneration processes are organised differently on the continent to the situation in England.

The English urban development processes focus around private sector actors that have substantial resources at their disposal to push projects forward. Without these resources much of the urban regeneration completed in England would not be possible. The fact that private actors have the majority of the power in the development process has important implications with regard to the type of the development that is produced and its sustainability credentials.

The very fact that private actors are the motor behind most development proposals ensures that more focus is naturally placed on short term profit rather than long term gain and sustainability considerations. It could be argued that this is a reflection of the country as a whole where the free market is trusted to allocate resources rather than the public sector. There may be very good reasons for this approach including previous experience but the

inevitable conclusion to this approach is that short term profit is prioritised over long term sustainable visions.

There are exceptions of course, where both private and public sector organisations have entered into a joint partnership therefore ensuring that a more balanced approach is achieved but this is the exception rather than the rule. The following chapter provides more detailed analysis of the difference and potential lessons we can learn from continental experience.

CHAPTER 9 – SYNTHESIS AND CONTRIBUTION OF THESIS

This chapter provides a comparative analysis of the issues that have been addressed in the case study chapters and seeks to answer the research questions that were set out in chapter 5. It brings together both the theoretical background as well as the more practical issues that have been discovered through the many interviews that were conducted, in particular, highlighting the relationship between the development processes that were used and their impact on the sustainability of the regeneration process. The chapter is structured using the analytical framework as the basis with contextual issues being highlighted first followed by the two primary dimensions which includes networks/coalitions and sustainable development processes.

9.1 Contextual Issues

From the work conducted for this thesis it is evident that contextual issues are of vital importance and can have a considerable impact on the way in which development processes are both envisaged and put into practice and how these processes can then influence the sustainability of a project. This section will consider some issues that have an impact on the way in which development processes are taken forward in different countries and how these processes can have an impact on the overall social, economic and environmental sustainability of the development.

Planning System

One of the first considerations is the importance of the planning system. Each of the case study countries in this research has a different type of planning system with different biases and priorities. While it could be possible to suggest that sustainable development is an overarching paradigm and that development is, and has been, generally focused towards

brownfield locations in all the countries, the exact way in which this is achieved varies considerably from country to country.

Both Germany (Hamburg) and Spain (Barcelona) have a more 'rule book approach' to planning with clear and concise guidance about what may or may not be permitted (Newman & Thornley, 1996). The English approach to planning, while plan led, is one of a discretionary nature in which negotiation between interested parties needs to take place right from the beginning (Cullingworth & Nadin, 2006).

Both systems have their strengths and weaknesses and these will not be explored here, other than to highlight that these different approaches can have significant impacts on the way in which a large scale development project is brought forward and more specifically that planning systems can have an important influence on the power relations between different parties involved in the process. This will be explored more in the following sections.

Cultural context to development and property ownership

The cultural context to development may not seem to have that much importance when considering the development processes of large scale sustainable regeneration projects but the impact of these different approaches do make a difference. Attitudes to development can include many different issues. Ownership is one of these issues and its importance can vary considerably from country to country. In England, the issue of property ownership is seen as vital. People are encouraged to get on the "property ladder" before they are left behind even though this is getting more and more difficult for many young individuals and couples (Wellings, 2006). This approach is widely reflected in Spain where ownership of property is seen as important and financially beneficial although property in Spain is often bought with a much longer term vision than in England partly because of the heavy tax implications of moving in Spain (Cabre & Modenes, 2004). In Germany and in Hamburg more specifically,

the opposite is true, where a considerable percentage of the population sees no advantage of owning property and instead prefers to rent and invest elsewhere (Independent, 2011).

These differences have important implications for large scale sustainable developments because it means that developments in England such as the Kings Cross development and 22@ in Barcelona have to be based more around the private market. In Hafencity Hamburg, organisations such as a “Baugenossenschaft”, which are essentially large scale private/public landlords, construct buildings that are then rented out to people at a low monthly rate. These organisations often have a long term vision to their property portfolios and are interested in the long term running costs and quality of the building fabric. The implications of this are that more long term players are involved in the development process in Hamburg as opposed to England or Barcelona. Sustainable development is naturally aligned to longer term visioning because it often requires significant periods of time to elapse before any benefits can be appreciated. Development in Hamburg has a more natural disposition for issues of environmental sustainability because more players are interested in the long term goals and performance of development.

“...if the landowner has a longer term vision and does not sell immediately then there is more of a chance of success. So if you have an organisation that has the land ownership but is also ready to take on the responsibility of masterplanning the area and dealing with infrastructure issues then you have more of a chance of success.”

English Property Consultant

Another distinction between the countries is the overall approach to and perception of development. In England the somewhat negative perspective can be sourced back to the 1960s where large scale local authority building projects were brought forward using the

modernist philosophies of planning and architecture and cheap construction methods (Adams & Tiesdell, 2013).

"[Things would be better] if there was a more general acceptance by the UK population that development is not that bad and can be good. That of course takes a lot of time and at least a few decades of good development schemes to build that confidence...Of course you can not blame people because they have gone through the bad experiences of the 1960s housing estates."

English Property Consultant

The overall result was buildings that were reviled by both the people living within them and those living around them. From this moment onwards development has been seen as having negative impacts, instilling a preference for the status quo. Local authorities, who were considered responsible for these mistakes were, as a result, never given the same power to steer development again, a point which will be covered in more detail later on. This has tarnished the image of new development, meaning that projects can often encounter considerable local resistance especially if not located in one of the main metropolitan areas such as London, Birmingham or Manchester.

Barcelona and Hamburg may not have such a negative approach to development because they have experienced more positive impacts that new development can bring, such as the reconstruction period after the Second World War in Germany and the wide infrastructure investment in Spain through European Structural Funds in the 1980s and 1990s which proved particularly beneficial for the country.

Local authority as lead development partner

The issue of landownership can be important in taking large scale regeneration projects forward. In particular, it can have a strong influence over which organisation exerts power and influence over the process. The issue of landownership is one of interest because cities have varying levels of public and private land. Some have been able to get hold of considerable areas of land partly due to historical reasons rather than acquisition.

“Land ownership is a far more powerful way to deliver strategic transformation than is planning control. When deployed effectively, it can shape markets by creating certainty, enhancing confidence and reducing developer risk.” (Adams and Tiesdell, 2013)

Public landownership in most situations represents an asset to the local authority. Where there is less consensus is where local authorities take the lead role in a redevelopment project (Campbell et al., 2009) (Clark, 2003). In England, some consider local authorities are not equipped to take on a lead role because they do not have the skills that are required and local authorities just look for the highest sale value rather than using their position of landowner to pursue high quality proposals. The bad mistakes of the 1960s further emphasised the lack of trust in local authorities to deliver good quality development and general perceptions have not changed since then (Adams & Tiesdell, 2013). In England, leadership of these projects is often given to the private sector because of the belief that they have the skills required to take these types of projects forward. The dilemma with this approach is that private sector organisations may not have the long term vision that sustainability requires.

Hamburg, in particular, has a different stance towards this issue. The local authority is more willing to take a leadership role in the development process. There are fewer issues of trust because local authority and regional governments are more autonomous than their English

counterparts and have the opportunity to make decisions separately from the national government. This has several advantages because the local government can take control of a regeneration project both through applying planning rules but also in the knowledge that their own landownership rights have a real influence over what will ultimately be built. This approach has been referred to previously in this research as '*positive planning*', i.e. the planning authority taking a lead role and helping to bring forward specific types of development rather than purely depending on the private market.

"Well, yes I think it works quite differently to the situation in the UK. We could never have the situation you had with London Docklands which was organised from central government. The cities in Germany do have considerable control and will always say what is going to happen."

Hamburg Local Authority Planner 1

The issue of CPO (Compulsory Purchase Orders) is similar to this. CPO is a process through which a local authority can compulsorily purchase land from a private individual or organisation. CPO in England has always been difficult and is seen by most local authorities as an impossibility because of the financial implications of going through the process and then buying the land (Winter & Lloyd, 2006). Indeed, many local authorities will only consider the option if they have organised a development consortium and the private partner or development partner offers to pay for costs that are associated.

"We have not used CPO powers in years. And the reason we do not touch CPO is because it is so complex and very expensive. A lot of local authorities do not have the skills or the money to go and buy land especially in the current economic climate."

English Local Authority Officer 1

In the vast majority of cases this makes city centre regeneration projects difficult to take forward because most of the land is normally in private hands and the local authority is demoted to the role of planning authority through which it can suggest change but can not have influence over delivery. Hamburg and Barcelona approach this issue differently. As in England, there are processes to bring land into public ownership, if so required, for the benefit of the regeneration project. Similarly to England, the processes are not cheap but the approach to CPO is different and considered a possibility if the necessity arises.

In fact Germany (Hamburg) has a very interesting tool for dealing with land which is in divided private ownership which is called “staedtebaulische entwicklungs massnahmen”. This tool allows the local government to get hold of the land, develop it and then the land is returned to the original owner but the city retains the uplift in value of the land.”

Hamburg Local Planning Officer 1

This allows local authorities to take control of land when they consider it is needed which creates a situation of power over the private sector. This once again reinforces the fact that the public sector is in charge. In the end, the English situation ends up being the exact opposite because it is well known that the private sector has the money and the expertise to bring forward projects such as these and the public sector is only a bit part player.

Rights of the individual vs. the collective

The issue of CPO brings forward differences about the importance of the ‘Individual’ and the ‘Collective’ in different societies. The fact that CPO is not normally used in England except in projects of national interest or when a development partner is willing to pay for them (Winter & Lloyd, 2006) could be construed as purely a financial issue but this would be missing the true complexity of why CPO is difficult in England. Resistance to CPO might be caused by the financial aspects of the mechanism but at the same time the complexities of CPO are

also connected to the strong English belief system in property rights and the importance of the individual.

"I think land ownership is very important issue for regeneration but again they deal with land ownership in very different ways in different countries. Here in England CPO is very controversial because there are strong property rights in this country and a strong focus on individuality. That is not the case in other countries so it is easier for those countries to expropriate land."

English Academic 1

The belief systems in other countries are different and place more emphasis on the importance of the collective good and how the environment can be changed for the wider benefit of the general population. This difference in approach is important because it shows how strategic projects in England can more easily be stymied by people who oppose them. The reasons for these differences in approach to the individual and the collective are varied and will not be explored here, but are connected to the cultural, social and political background.

Economic Crisis

The current economic crisis provides a further facet to the issues of delivering sustainable urban development on brownfield sites. Markets have an important influence on whether projects are delivered and whether sustainability issues are considered. The more difficult it is to make a project viable the more likely sustainability considerations will be overlooked. This issue is therefore vital when considering the way in which to encourage more sustainable development processes.

Property markets are renowned for their cyclical patterns and the situation at the moment is one which is having a profound impact on the development industry (Edwards, 1990) (MacLaren, 2003). Spain, Germany and England have all been affected by the economic downturn and the ability for developers to get access to finance has been severely restricted. This leaves a situation where urban development and especially urban regeneration is now at a standstill.

From the English perspective, where most projects are privately driven and depend on private finance, there is a tendency to enter into a boom and bust scenario which can be damaging. The continental approach (e.g. Hafencity), which while it may depend on private investment, appears to be more resistant to these peaks and troughs and therefore can continue with development projects even during difficult economic circumstances.

These difficulties may in fact provide the moment of reflection that is required in terms of development processes in England and help to ensure that these processes are considered more carefully when the economy starts to regain its strength. The emphasis on sustainable development should be even higher after the experience of the crisis because it was short term thinking that brought forward the recession in the first place.

The summary table below provides an overview of the issues addressed in this section. As can be seen, the different countries have very different approaches to the way in which development is brought forward and all of these contextual issues can have a strong bearing on how development processes are formulated. These differences are one of the reasons that it is difficult to copy development policies directly from one country to another.

	Planning System	Approach to Development	Accept. CPO	Home Ownership	Individual vs. Collective	Economic Crisis
Spain/22@	A planning system based in law	Positive approach	High acceptance	High home ownership	Rights of the collective placed high in decision making process	High impact on property sector
Germany/Hafencity	A planning system based in law	Positive approach	High acceptance	Low home ownership	Rights of the collective placed high in decision making process	Intermediate impact on property sector
England / Various	A planning system based on precedent	Negative approach	Low acceptance	High home ownership	Rights of the individual placed high in decision making process	Intermediate to high impact

Table 9.1: Summary Table of Contextual Issues

The contextual issues have provided an important insight into how sustainable development processes are constructed in the case study countries. The summary demonstrates that the continental approaches in both Germany and Spain have a more positive approach to development and that the local authorities in these locations took specific and targeted action to help to facilitate and direct development in a sustainable direction and were able to do so with a certain level of success. The English approach is distinct to this, in that there is generally a more reactive approach to development proposals that, in the main, emanate from private sector circles.

This suggests a substantial difference in approach to development and one that should be considered carefully. While the reasons for such difference are many, it could be worth considering how strong public sector leadership of development projects could be achieved in England and how this could have a beneficial impact on the sustainability credentials of the end product.

9.2 Primary Dimension 1: Networks and Coalitions

This section will cover issues of governance which will include reference to the main differences that exist between the three case studies. The importance of governance arrangements in the design of development processes is important because the way different levels of government and private actors interact can have influence on how a project is moved forward and this, in turn, can have direct implications for the economic, social and environmental sustainability of an urban regeneration project.

As seen in the literature review, networks, power relationships and partnerships are becoming increasingly important in the modern world. It is often impossible to carry out specific tasks without being connected to other organisations but inevitably there are power struggles between the participants in these networks as well. The main focus for this research is to create an understanding of the networks that bring forward large scale urban regeneration projects. In doing so, the aim is to understand who the main actors are and which have the most power and influence over the social, economic and environmental sustainability of the end results. Inevitably, this revolves around the complexity of public/private interaction as in most cases these types of projects can not be undertaken unilaterally.

Government Power and Control

In England, the governmental structure has been focussed around a centralised system of power (Allmendinger, 2011). Power is held at Whitehall and, despite more recent moves to encourage devolution, the majority of power still remains in London (Adams & Tiesdell, 2013). Local government in England is seen as an organisation that implements central government policy and is only given very limited ability to make decisions independently. This has an influence on local decision making and ensures that it is extremely difficult for

local authorities to act in an autonomous manner. Germany and Spain are different in this regard because they have traditionally had strong and autonomous regions (“Laender” in Germany and “Comunidades Autónomas” in Spain) which are able to make decisions independently from the national government (Kunzmann, 2001).

“In the UK there is no tradition of autonomous self government at all. It is all centrally controlled by the treasury. Everything that is given to local authorities can be withdrawn at any time. In terms of power, if developers get any lip from local authorities in the UK they go around the back to speak to people at Whitehall. The UK has been a unified state since 1066 whereas Germany has only been unified since 1870 with major turbulence along the way. Most major projects in the UK are always focused around London and those projects have been good for consulting companies who can show their international clients what they have done.”

English Development Agency Consultant

The nature of regeneration projects is that they are often large and complex and require buy in from the local political elite. If the private sector is to engage with such large and complex projects they want to be assured that politicians are fully supportive of the project and will not change their minds a year later. The benefit of having strong regional and local governments, in this case, is that the decision making process is local and can remain local throughout the process. Important decisions can be made locally and finance for the project can be sourced locally as well.

“...most power is held centrally in the UK and central government is reluctant to give that power away....of course you need to remember that the really big regeneration projects often cover more than one authority and then you need to deal with even more politics, so in a way there could be a role for regional government structure there.....of course there has been

lots of experimentation with regional government but it has never worked and there has never been real devolution of power. I really can't see the solution. I guess on the continent regional government must have more power."

English Local Authority Officer 1

As opposed to local government in England, the German local authority is seen as a powerful organisation that allows the private sector to engage in projects but will try to retain overall control of the process, if possible. The English local authority, at least in terms of planning, is seen as an organisation that can steer development but is not involved in the actual delivery because this is a traditional area for the private sector.

"You need to take into consideration that in England there is no tradition of strong public sector delivery of urban regeneration. I don't think the public sector has cracked the idea of owning land and delivering it. I don't know how that would work. It becomes very political as well because in the end I am a public servant and I am accountable to the local politicians who work in my borough so it gets very complex because I need to be in line with their views. In addition to that, if all the land within the regeneration project was publicly owned suddenly I would be getting lots of requests for public housing and other social infrastructure and I would have to be going back to them and explaining that to get all those things we would need some commercial development. And I probably wouldn't have won the argument. I think that lots of local politicians have very little knowledge about these sorts of things so it can be difficult to convince them."

English Local Authority Officer 1

Some local authorities in England are able to retain more control because of the extensive land holdings that they own but in general they have less power than their German counterparts.

Trust within and in the Public Sector

Where most power is held centrally the issue of trust becomes very important (Hardin, 2006). Trust between central and local government in England has been notoriously weak which means that it becomes even more difficult to start large scale regeneration projects at a local level. The most famous regeneration projects in England have often been strongly connected to central government intervention because they have been seen as “projects of national importance”. Two examples of this are the London Docklands (Carmona, 2004) and the Olympic Park both of which had significant central government intervention. Starting a regeneration project at a local level can be difficult because funding can be hard to find for local authorities in England.

The issue of a lack of trust between central and local government revolves around many different concerns which include the simple unwillingness of central government to give power away but also can include the belief that local authorities do not have the skills to deliver large scale projects without considerable help. Whether this is true or not can vary from local authority to local authority and it could be suggested that in many cases the metropolitan authorities are better prepared for these types of challenges than other local authorities.

“.... politics can get very messy and central government does not trust the local government to deliver those schemes and local government is very disjointed and fragmented.”

English Local Authority Officer 1

The problem with the overall lack of trust in England is that it does not just extend itself within government circles. The lack of trust in local authorities also extends to the general perception the private sector has of local authorities (Tait, 2009). The lack of trust from

central government encourages a lack of trust from the private sector so an inevitable vicious circle begins. The way in which the development process operates in England means that most developers have a strong vested interest in their development proposals before they get to the negotiation stage with the local authority. This means that when negotiations begin the developer can have an aggressive approach because they have a vested interest in the project proposal. If the local authority is inflexible or unwilling to give permission, the developer has the option to appeal which further reduces the power and influence of the local authority. This lack of trust from central government can lead to a situation where the private market is wary of investing in areas of regeneration that need substantial public investment because they may be unsure whether these elements will materialise. As such, the English system is often based around a private sector led approach where the developer creates a vision for the site before involving the local authority. This then, as mentioned before, reduces the influence of the public sector in development proposals and the ability for local authorities to promote issues of public interest such as sustainability.

The approach in the continental case studies is different because governmental arrangements are set up with the local government and regions playing a more important and independent role. In Germany, the local authorities have a stronger political control over their local area and can set aside budgets for regeneration more easily.

The skills base in continental local authorities might also be higher but this is likely to vary across the country just like in England. It is clear, however, that local authorities in Germany and Spain are given more power than in England and this allows them to forge ahead with projects that the local politicians believe will be beneficial for their local areas. Trust in the public sector is also higher, although this may have been eroded especially in Spain after the recent economic crisis. The German case study, however, provides a good example of a

situation where the local authority leads the project both politically and technically and allows the private sector to enter the process only when invited to do so.

Development Agencies

Another important actor in the development process is the development agency. The two continental case studies both use development agencies with a slightly different emphasis but both provide examples of the importance of network/coalition arrangements in bringing development forward.

In Hamburg, the development agency was set up by the local authority. The organisation is private (GmbH) but it is fully owned by the local authority and has a board that includes local politicians. This particular development agency has been tasked with delivering the Hafencity development and this includes specifically identifying and selling the land to developers that have won the land use concept competition. The development agency has been set up in the knowledge that it would need people who are skilled at selling land and so has employed people from the private sector to do so.

“I believe that it (the development agency) is very important and to be honest I don’t think it could have been done any other way. I think there are so many things to think about when you are dealing with such a big development that you need to have a development agency to coordinate everything and generally I think most projects of this size in Europe do have a development agency. Of course from our point of view as a developer it is very useful to have one point of contact and this point of contact is the HCH (Hafencity Hamburg)”

Hamburg Developer 1

The Barcelona situation has been different, because although a development agency has been set up it was never intended to enter into the complex arrangements of selling land.

The 22@ project has allowed the existing landowners to remain in place and the development corporation has sourced many of their human resources from existing local authority departments (except a few key headline figures). Due to this approach, the development agency has become a one-stop shop for all issues that revolve around the 22@ project. Developers can go to this organisation for advice about specific projects and get more detailed information about the exact planning requirements but this has been private sector initiative rather than public sector delivery.

The difference between the two development agencies is clear but none the less both organisations were important to the overall success of each project. The advantage of the Hamburg model is that the development agency has ultimate control over who will occupy a site and how the site will be developed. Indeed, the fact that landownership is in public hands means that the site has been developed from west to east, eliminating any form of cherry picking of the best sites by developers. In Barcelona, this type of approach has been impossible because all the land has remained in private ownership and it is up to individuals to decide if they want to take advantage of the new planning regulations and redevelop their sites.

The reasons for installing a site specific development agency can be multiple and varied but one of the most obvious reasons for doing so is to give confidence to the private market that the local authority is serious about its regeneration vision. The resources placed at disposal through a development agency provide a clear message about the strategic importance of the project and these resources can help to get the right message across, not only to the development industry and developers but, also the wider public. One of the important roles that the development agency in Hamburg has played is the marketing of the site to potential investors around the world through an elaborate marketing campaign and a wealth of documentation (Hafencity Hamburg, 2010).

Another important element of installing a development agency is the way in which it shapes power relations. A development agency can often represent an organisation that is not seen as completely public or private but rather as an intermediary. The development agency can hold the vast majority of power over a development site especially if it owns the land as is the case in Hamburg. This ensures that the power relations between the different actors change dramatically and decision making is held mostly by this publicly accountable agency. This then forces the private sector into line.

“Hafencity is also a planners dream because you really do have influence as a planner. I have spoken with a number of people from the HCH (Hafencity Hamburg) and they have told me that they really do have a lot of control over the private investors and if there are details that have not been done properly with a development the HCH can come along and say “you need to do that again, it is not right”. It is for those reasons why Hafencity is a planners dream, they have control.”

Hamburg Academic 1

The development agency, more generically, can have a very important role and certainly can bring very specific advantages but it also serves as an example of a network approach where the dividing line between the public and private spheres is erased and replaced with a coalition approach that pulls together the best from both domains and allows joint working that otherwise would not be possible.

Private Actors and Risk

Private actors remain an important element of development processes because there are few situations where the public sector can deliver a project unilaterally. Private actors can include architects, developers, landowners, tenants, financiers, banks and investors. An aim

of private operators in the development process of a large scale regeneration projects is to reap a financial reward to do so but they do not want to be exposed to overtly high risk (Fisher, 2010; Guy & Henneberry, 2000).

Reducing risk is one of the fundamental objectives of many of the organisations that are involved in creating sustainable urban regeneration projects. In Hamburg, the risk to a potential investor is reduced by the fact that the city as a whole has bought into the concept and that the project must go forward. Equally, the fact that developers must only pay for the sites when construction begins is also a benefit and risk reducer.

“We have a planning system which is based around the “bebauungsplan” which basically gives a very clear indication about what can be built on a certain piece of land and therefore the bebauungsplan is our bible and we need to refer to it all the time. The bebauungsplan even needs to go through a public consultation process so when it is established it is very clear for all to see what can be built and what can’t. This reduces the risk for developers.”

Hamburg Architect 1

The project in Barcelona has been more exposed to risk because it is the open private market that is dictating the change. The city has had some buy-in but this has been limited to a number of “engines”. An investor could still have doubts about whether the area is going to change comprehensively and this acts as a limiter to potential investment.

Examples in England are closer to the approach at 22@ in Barcelona. Regeneration projects are often private sector led either for financial reasons or because of issues of skills. For the private sector, regeneration projects can be high risk because issues of landownership need to be dealt with at the beginning of the process without absolute certainty of permission from the local authority. Only relatively large scale organisations with considerable resources can

contemplate the idea of starting a large scale regeneration project. This fact restricts the type of organisations that can get involved in such projects and reduces the mixture and diversity of organisations compared with continental projects which has implications for the overall on the ground result.

The summary table below provides an overview of governance issues that are connected with the development processes of large scale sustainable urban regeneration. Once again, significant differences can be observed between the different countries. The largest difference, however, rests between the approach taken in England as compared to the continent. With more local government control, more trust and less development risk the situation on the continent can allow different and more innovative approaches to be taken. As highlighted in chapter 4 power relations, partnerships and networks all have an important part to play in constructing development processes. The case studies that have been considered in this research further emphasise this point especially with regard to power relationships.

The different understanding of power relations by Allen (2004) who highlighted the importance of centralised, dispersed and localised power or Foucault (1983, 1984, 1989) who invited us to look at the darker side of power and how it influences outcomes or Flyvbjerg (1996; 1998; 2002) and Yiftachel (1999) who applied Foucault's ideas to planning, all provide an indication about how planning might be influenced by power. The case studies in this research have shown that, in particular, centralised forms of power can have considerable influence on outcomes of large scale urban regeneration projects and more specifically the way in which sustainability is incorporated into projects. Power emanating from a centralised source enables private actors to fit within a framework where they can feel comfortable and above all reduce their risk.

The importance of who makes the decisions about an urban regeneration process is vital because of the different value systems located in different organisations. Both governmental structures and the existence of a development agency can have an important bearing on this power struggle and this is amply illustrated by the case studies that have been explored. Barcelona and Hamburg illustrate the power differentials that can occur when using a development agency and the benefits this can bring, especially in the case of Hamburg, in terms of controlling the private market. These same two case studies also highlight a local government approach to place making, placing power in the hands of local politicians rather than central government.

	Central Government vs Local Government power to bring forward development	Private Sector Trust in Local Government to Deliver Urban Regeneration	Local Development Agency	Development Risk
Spain/22@	Regional and local government power is high	Medium trust in public sector to deliver urban regeneration	A local site specific development agency is being used	Development risk for developers is low
Germany/Hafencity	Regional and local government power is high	High trust in public sector to deliver urban regeneration	A local site specific development agency is being used	Development risk for developers is low
UK/Various	Central government power is high and local government power is weak	Low trust in public sector to deliver urban regeneration	A local site specific development agency is rarely used	Development risk for developers is high

Table 9.2: Summary Table of Networks and Coalitions

9.3 Primary Dimension 2: Sustainability and the Development Processes

This section will look at the intricacies of the development processes in both the continental and English contexts. In particular, this will focus on the issue of sustainability and its three core elements, discussing how the different case studies have approached these issues. This is then followed by a more detailed look at the development processes themselves and how these processes have had an influence on sustainability of the case study projects.

Approaches to Sustainability in Development Contexts

Sustainability (Naess, 2001) remains a key objective for planning in all the countries that were considered for this research. While there are differences in focus, the overarching principles are similar. When carrying out international research it is inevitable that comparisons are made and Germany, in particular, has had a long tradition of placing sustainability at the top of its priorities and can be considered to have an advantage with regard to this issue. For the purposes of this synthesis we will consider the case study projects using the three main pillars of sustainability (Harding, 2006).

Economic Sustainability

Economic sustainability (Goodland, 1995) defined as the true viability of a development project is vitally important because without this element the vision that has been created can not come to fruition. The two continental projects that have been considered as part of this research were fortunate. The vision for both was created in the late 1990s and construction started in the early 2000s. This period was a boom for the construction industry because of the availability of cheap credit for both companies and individuals. The beginning processes of both projects were straight forward because of the considerable investment interest. As the 2000s neared their end, the global economic picture had changed dramatically, making credit more difficult to come by and the ability for people to invest more restricted. By this time, both projects had become well developed and were intrinsically linked with the future

economic growth and vision of their respective cities. This commitment did not avoid the impact of the 2008 economic crisis however. In Barcelona, most construction has stopped except for a few organisations which want to take the advantage to be ready when a new dawn arrives. All sections of the property industry have suffered. Demand is lower and prices have had to adapt (Cushman & Wakefield, 2011). The fact that the 22@ area remained in private hands has meant that it is more difficult to convince individual landowners to sell their land assets because the estimated financial windfall is less. These landowners prefer to keep hold of their assets until a better moment and, as such, development ceases to be possible.

In Hamburg, there is a similar story but the impact has been less. The demand for office space has reduced but the residential market remains buoyant because of the lack of residential development in the city (Grossman & Berger, 2011a). Construction has continued and investment continues to flow towards the project. The advantage that Hamburg has over Barcelona, in this case, is that all the land is in public ownership and no third parties can stall the process.

“It (the crisis) does not seem to have made that much difference but it is very difficult to put your finger on any specific changes. One of the things that is evident however is that there is far less office development being built at the moment and that the development sector is far more interested in building apartments.”

Hamburg Local Government Planner

Both projects are at their middle point and remain unfinished. Hamburg, however, has more momentum during these difficult economic times and this will ensure that it moves forward more quickly. Indeed, while Barcelona is still pressing ahead with 22@, it has lost lots of its initial vision and human resources within the development agency have been pulled from the project because they were not required.

Social Sustainability

Social sustainability (Bramley et al, 2009) is probably the least known aspect of sustainability but could be considered one of the most important elements in projects such as these as it covers issues such as the provision of local services, a mixture of tenures and uses and community activities. Large scale urban regeneration schemes should aim to be socially sustainable to ensure that the communities in these regenerated areas are able to live sustainable lifestyles.

The main objective for Hamburg was to create a development that was a new part of the city centre, a quarter that was able to thrive both during the day and the night and give people access to jobs and shops without needing to travel excessively (Hafencity Hamburg, 2006). This has been achieved to a degree and although the development remains unfinished, the mixture of uses and the active ground floor uses provide an indication that these social aspects have been considered. The element which remains a weakness is the mixture of social and private housing. At the moment, private housing dominates and the area could be considered out of reach for many. This needs to be balanced against the fact that waterfront areas are always slightly more expensive locations and that the “Baugenossenschaften” allow people to rent at a reduced level. Despite this, it is generally accepted that the issue of social housing needs to be addressed and this has been taken into account for the next building phases.

In Barcelona, the situation has been different because of the established community that was previously living in the 22@ area. The area was renowned for being an old industrial area which had been taken over by transportation businesses but was increasingly becoming a place for artists because the rents were relatively low. The new 22@ designation forced many of these old uses to move elsewhere to make way for the new industries that were

being actively encouraged to locate there. For some, this created a sense of resentment and this is exemplified by the conflicts connected with the Can Ricard development proposals that were eventually put on hold.

Environmental Sustainability

All three case study countries have policies that are working in this direction and environmental sustainability (Goodland, 1995) is one of the elements of sustainability that is being promoted most aggressively. One of the main problems with environmental sustainability and building design is the issue of cost which can put developers off. In most situations it is only in the interests of the long term developer to invest time and money in the environmental performance of a building and this fact limits many developers from doing so (Adams & Tiesdell, 2013; Carmona et al., 2010).

Both continental case studies place an importance on this issue of sustainability. In Hamburg, the majority of the buildings are of a high environmental standard partly encouraged by an innovative gold and silver star system but also because many of the developers on the site have a long term interest in the buildings they are constructing which makes a vital difference. In Barcelona, the impetus for sustainability has been provided by the public sector which ensured that the whole development has been connected to a combined heat and cooling unit (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2010b). The overall design and layout of both developments subscribe to the perimeter block ethic which seeks to ensure permeability and a mixed use environment further improving the environmental sustainability of the projects.

“The sustainability of the area has been achieved by the innovative approach towards infrastructure that was put in place at the beginning of the process”

Barcelona Infrastructure Officer

England, is likewise, seeking to promote sustainable design in its new buildings (Adams & Tiesdell, 2013). Zero carbon objectives as well as BREEAM for office buildings are ensuring that developments are looking for sustainable solutions. Germany will probably remain the leader in this field especially because development processes in England promote a shorter term vision than in Germany where many developers are private landlords that have a long term approach to their development projects.

It is important to consider all three elements of sustainability when bringing forward a large scale regeneration project but they can not be considered in isolation from delivery. If sustainability is to be an integral part of a regeneration project it needs to be integrated into the development process of that project and that is what will be considered below.

For the moment, however it is important to highlight the importance of a long term vision when seeking sustainable solutions, whether economic, social or environmental. Long term visions tend not to come forward naturally and need to be established through some framework. Once again, the continental case studies provide a good example of this because they involve developers who have a long term stake in the project and hence think differently about the type of development they are constructing. It is therefore interesting to consider ways in which public sector agencies can imbue the benefits of a longer term vision to private sector developers and thereby naturally get a more sustainable end result.

The Development Process

The development process associated with a project is a key indicator about how the final result will materialise. As highlighted by Healey (1991) there are many different types of development processes and most models that have been created to capture their complexity have failed to do so because there are many variations. Development processes escape

definition because each one is individual and unique (Adams & Tiesdell, 2013). Despite this, it is still interesting to consider key issues surrounding development processes because, while they can not be clearly defined, a more in depth knowledge can provide clues as to how sustainable urban regeneration can be delivered more frequently and effectively. The following section will consider various elements of the development process and draw on experience learnt from the case study examples.

Market Led vs. Authority Led

A major distinction should be made between development processes that are market or authority led because the differences are considerable and can have a significant impact on the overall approach and outcome. A market-led approach to a development process is where the private market controls the status and progress of the proposal. In this case, private organisations are those that are in control and they approach the local authority when they consider it necessary to do so. In these situations, the private organisations are often the landowners which further bolsters their control over the process. This situation is common in England (Rhodes, 1996) (Allmendinger, 2011).

An authority led development process is one where the local authority is the lead partner of the proposal and dictates the situation. The local authority might be the original landowner or might acquire the land through a land assembly processes using CPO powers. The authority will then invite individual developers to submit their proposals and will select proposals according to quality and/or merit. This approach is more likely to be used on the continent (Adams & Tiesdell, 2013).

The importance of this differentiation between a market led and authority led process should not be underestimated because it can determine how the development process evolves (Adams & Tiesdell, 2013). In Hamburg, the fact that the process has been authority lead has

meant that the public sector has had a strong control over the sustainability of the project. Issues such as the design, quality and layout of the development have all been heavily influenced by the public sector which as always has a long term view. An authority led project therefore has a greater tendency to place sustainability criteria at the top of its objectives because it is more interested in the long term performance of the development. Development projects in England which are run primarily through private organisations can find it more difficult to ensure that sustainability is one of the main paradigms of the project because private sector interests can be shorter term.

Landownership

One of the most important elements of retaining control over a regeneration process is the ability to become the landowner (Kivell & McKay, 1988). Land assembly is difficult to achieve in many cases because of the high costs involved but it does give the local authority significantly more power to control the development process and exert influence when it wants to as it has been the case in Hamburg. The problem with regeneration processes is that they are mostly located in inner city areas where the pattern of landownership is a complex variety of landowners with various interests, some of whom will be pro-development and others who will be passive or even negative. The 22@ project is a good example of this. The situation can be easier, as in the case of Hafencity, where the city already had a large stake in the land and only a small amount of land assembly was required. The ability of a local authority to acquire land is highly dependent on the resources that it owns and has at its disposal. The two continental case studies are good examples of opposite approaches because in Hamburg the city authority was able to acquire all the land through its existing land holdings and financial muscle. This put Hamburg city council in a strong position to create a vision and deliver that vision through the site specific development agency that it set up. Barcelona, on the other hand, had just financed the 1992 Olympics and had little in terms of financial resources at that time. Added to this, the site in Barcelona was in multiple

ownership and had existing uses that were incompatible with the vision that the city was trying to achieve.

The two development processes were, therefore, quite different because Hamburg was able to control the situation both through landownership and planning regulations, where Barcelona was only able to steer development through its planning approach and strategy. It is clear that not all local authorities will have the ability to acquire land through CPO processes and as has been highlighted earlier this approach can be very difficult in England especially, but it does show that if a city with autonomy has the political and financial capital at its disposal and is willing to take the risk with public money, then comprehensive sustainable urban regeneration can be more achievable through this mechanism.

“Brindleyplace, Liverpool One, King Cross, Crown Street, Canary Wharf. All of them are interesting and for me when I look at the issue of regeneration one of the key elements that always comes out is the importance of land ownership which is an issue that is quite different here in the UK in comparison with continental examples.”

English Property Consultant

The development processes in the two continental case studies provide a good example of the differences that can exist. Hamburg had centrally located land that was both redundant and within local authority ownership. This was a unique situation which was recognised as such by an astute city authority which could see that this was an opportunity. Once the land assembly process, which was conducted confidentially, had finished the authority was in place to create a vision for the site and take forward the delivery of the development with the help of a newly set up development agency which had all the required skills to sell land at the right price and attract inward investment. Barcelona had to contend with a site that was in multiple ownership but in addition to that, there were a wide variety of different stakeholders

and interest groups who wanted to influence the outcome of the process. As such, Barcelona had to struggle with a variety of competing interests, which is not unusual for regeneration projects but made the process more complex.

Once again, these differences can have a strong influence on the outcome of developments. Full landownership has allowed Hamburg more control over the project than in Barcelona and this can, and has had, an impact on how both projects have come forward. The fact that Hamburg has had more control means that sustainability has been at the forefront of thinking. The authority has been able to choose which developers take certain projects forward and sustainability criteria were a large part in this selection process. Achieving sustainable development is generally more likely with a long term player in control whether, public or private. In the Hamburg case the long term player has been the authority but many projects in England do not have this key requirement built in to their processes.

Masterplanning

Masterplans remain the dominant way in which to organise future development. These can come in various form and guises (Tiesdell & Macfarlane, 2007). In Hamburg, there is a prescriptive approach which includes a plan showing the general layout of the buildings and how they need to interact with the public space around them. Despite this, flexibility remains a key objective and for that reason the masterplan is being updated on a regular basis to ensure that the appropriate land uses are included so as to adapt to an ever changing property market.

The approach in Barcelona is of a more general nature in which planning principles were established which give owners an indication about what uses they can convert their properties into. No real physical prescription is given other than the requirement to adhere to the original Cerdà grid plan.

Both masterplans were begun and managed by the public sector. The vision for both regeneration projects was established by the public sector and this has remained so throughout the process which is in contrast to most processes that are initiated in England. In England, the vision for a site is often begun on the private sector side and then presented to the public authority which may, or may not, be able to influence that vision. If a partnership arrangement is agreed, then it is more likely that the authority can have an influence and the vision adopted as policy but this will not always be the case.

The continental approach remains focused on the public sector acting as a place maker. Whether the authority owns the land or not, it is more likely to create the vision for a new regeneration area and the private sector is then expected to adhere to that vision and react accordingly. In England, this is turned upside down where the private sector is the driver of the process and the authority is reactive.

The way in which this affects the sustainability of projects is important because the masterplan is often the framework for how a project moves forward. A sustainable environment can be characterised as a place of diversity with many difference influences and a mixture of uses but in order to achieve this it is essential to have a long term place maker. Without a long term place maker there tends to be the temptation for the private sector to take shortcuts and opt for the easier option of single developer organisations building the whole development. A single long term place maker ensures that this complexity is achieved and that there is some continuity to the project. The place maker in Hamburg has been the Hafencity Hamburg and their management of the masterplan as a continuously evolving vision has helped to ensure a sustainable on the ground result because they have ensured that the process has been kept transparent and a wide variety of developer organisations involved.

Diversity of Actors and Developers

In the previous section, key actors have been highlighted and their importance explained but one of the important aspects of sustainable urban regeneration is not only the major actors but also the number of small scale actors that can become, and are allowed to engage, in the regeneration process. In Germany and Spain, the case study examples show that while the administration takes a leading role in the visioning of the project, the actual delivery of the development is given over to the private sector. In Hamburg, this is achieved through the identification of suitable developers through a competition process and this same process ensures that no single developer, architect or constructor has a monopolising effect. Likewise in Barcelona, landowners come up with their own proposals and this will often ensure that a variety of different consortiums are involved in the project. This is important because a diversity of organisations means a diversity of product and successful place making is about achieving an environment that is sustainable but also unique.

This aim can be difficult to achieve in England because of the way the development process moves forward. The private sector initiates the regeneration process through their landownership meaning that the developer organisation is large and quite powerful. It seeks to gain permission for its vision and then to develop the site itself or sell the land to another developer who will carry out the construction. The problem with this approach is two fold. Firstly, if the site is sold to a construction company or second developer then the land value will often disappear making it very difficult to finance the project to completion especially with regard to expensive infrastructure. The second problem is that these large organisations will tend to look for economies of scale in terms of design so the end result is rather monotone and lacks diversity. (Adams & Tiesdell, 2013)

The diversity of actors brings an additional element of sustainability to a project. It helps to create urban environments that are interesting and diverse. It provides an element of transparency to the process which makes it more democratic and genuinely favours the public good rather than private interests. Both Hamburg and Barcelona are good examples of this because no large developer organisation has been able to dominate either of the developments. Each developer has had to fit within the wider parameters of the established masterplan but at the same time can remain unique and different to the rest.

Public Sectors Skills / Attitudes

There is a stark contrast in the way in which planning is carried out in England as opposed to continental Europe. In both Spain and Germany, planning is seen as a place making exercise that is vitally important and is started and developed from the public sector. Planners seek to create visions that the private market will then react to (Adams et al, 2011). This approach is also possible in England but because the balance of power and skills is in the private sector, the public sector inevitably has a reactive role. If planners in the public sector had more local power and financial muscle then they too could steer development more effectively but, at the moment, they need to rely on planning policies that in many respects are not strong or watertight enough to steer powerful market forces.

These differences in approach can be related back to the ideas discussed in chapter 3 which focused around the development process concepts of structure (Ambrose, 1986; Boddy, 1981) and agency (Drewett, 1973; Bryant, 1982). Both continental models focus more towards the structural model where the private market must adapt to the structure that is put in place. The model used in England, on the other hand, is closer to that of agency, where an emphasis is placed on the ability of the market to find solutions to problems and the private actors that manoeuvre themselves in that sphere. Here the structure or governmental control is reduced in its importance to encourage or lead development.

Skills are important to ensuring that on the ground development achieves the aspirations that it is aiming towards. Skills in the public sector give confidence to all actors that become involved in the development process and very importantly they give confidence to the private and investment sectors as well.

A lot of local authorities do not have the skills or the money to lead large scale regeneration projects.”

English Local Authority Officer 1

Public sectors skills are therefore important, not only for the physical sustainability of the project but also the economic sustainability. Public sector actors need to be able to engage with the private sector on an even playing field in both development and economic issues. Hamburg in particular has been able to manage this well through both a specific in-house project team in the local authority as well as a more economic focused development agency.

Long Term Vision

To deliver long lasting positive change a regeneration project should aim to be developed in the long term with long term goals and objectives. The development process is a significant indicator of the importance placed on long term objectives. If the development process places an emphasis on creating a well resourced development agency, this is an important first step as it shows a commitment to the project and gives confidence to the private market. If the developers involved or chosen to take the project forward are long term developers that have a long term interest in the buildings they are constructing then this long term vision will be reinforced. If the process is publicly run and any profit from the development process reinvested into local infrastructure then the long term sustainability of the development is further guaranteed.

“Brindleyplace and Caterham Barracks are also interesting examples. The common denominator for most successful schemes is a single landowner which is committed over the long term and has a vision.”

English Property consultant

Another way of achieving a long term vision and commitment to the project is the appointment of a champion. This champion will often be an individual who is either the head of the development agency but could equally be a local authority planner, architect or politician. Through the interviews conducted as part of this research, it became clear that there are many benefits to putting a project champion in place. In Hamburg and Barcelona, the champions are people who have directed the respective development agencies and in both cases have been changed once over the lifetime of the project so far. While creating the role of a champion might be done formally, it can also be done informally by choosing someone who has a passion for the project area or vision. The benefits of establishing a role like this is to ensure that the project is pushed forward and an element of continuity is established. It could be argued that a long term vision is a sustainable vision and the more emphasis that is placed on this throughout the development process the more likely the development will be a sustainable project.

The summary table below gives an overview of the development processes in the three different case study countries. It can be seen that landownership and masterplanning often fall into the hands of different organisations depending on the national context. As has been shown these differences can have a significant influence on power relationships and how the development process is managed and ultimately the quality of what is built.

This research provides the evidence that large scale urban regeneration projects can be delivered sustainably if they are publicly managed and that due to this particular characteristic, continental projects may be more successful in achieving this objective. The emphasis in England on the private market may therefore be pushing urban regeneration in the wrong direction and as such the likelihood of success is lower than it need be. Methods could therefore be explored into ways in which England can bring forward sustainable urban regeneration through public management without invoking the negative images of the past and at the same time ensuring the public body that ends up running such a project is well equipped to do so, in terms of skills, equipment and resources.

	Spain/22@	Germany/ Hafencity	UK/Various
Market Led vs. Authority Led	A mixture of market led and authority led	An authority led approach	A mostly market led approach
Landownership	Private landownership	Authority landownership	Mostly private land ownership
Masterplanning	Authority led masterplan	Authority led masterplan	Private sector led masterplan
Diversity of Actors	High diversity	High diversity	Mostly low diversity
Public Sector Skills	Highly skilled at 22@	Highly skilled in Hamburg	Variable skills throughout England
Positive Planning Approach	Yes	Yes	Variable – mostly private sector driven projects
Long term vision	Strong commitment	Strong commitment	Variable commitment

Table 9.3: Summary Table of Sustainability and Development Processes

9.4 Research Aims and Objectives

This section will refer back to the research questions that were established earlier in the thesis. The research questions included one main question and three sub-questions.

Main Question: How does the development processes operate differentially in a variety of European contexts and how does this influence sustainable urban development practices?

As has been shown, the development processes of the case studies are quite different but they have key ingredients which are similar. Most importantly, however, it is crucial to consider how these development processes help produce environments that are more sustainable. Urban regeneration is often synonymous with the idea of sustainability partly because regeneration sites are located centrally and are regarded as sustainable from the beginning. Today, however, that is not enough and it is important to strive for the best ways in which to deliver real sustainable urban regeneration that is high quality.

The analysis of the different development processes connected with large scale regeneration projects in Hamburg and Barcelona show that there is a real commitment to the project once it has been established. The vision is long term, the development agencies are well resourced, the people involved have the right skills to deliver, the project is supported by the local politicians, landownership by the local authority is preferable, if possible, but importantly, the local authorities are in control through landownership or a strong planning system set in law. They are not at the whim of a large developer organisation that is looking for a quick gain or a developer that is purely interested in securing planning permission and then running away with the land value. There is a commitment to the longer term vision of the area and this is the way in which true sustainability which encompasses the economic, social and environmental can be delivered well.

It is also clear that the approaches in the case study countries are different because of wider socio-economic issues. The way in which development processes are constructed seems to

be very closely linked to the wider political context. It seems to be linked to the strength of belief in the private market and whether that private market will provide the solution in the correct form and manner. In Anglo-Saxon culture there seems to be a stronger belief in market based solutions whereas the continent is still sceptical. This then brings forward some fundamental questions about the way in which development processes are constructed and whether they can ever be separated from the wider socio-economic approach of a specific country.

If, for example, we can say that public sector leadership of large scale urban regeneration projects allows more opportunities for success, would this approach be accepted in more market driven economies?

From a theoretical and academic point of view, there is value in exploring the difference between private and publicly driven processes in order to understand just how much this can affect the ability to make a project sustainable. This research has shown that public driven processes place power in the hands of the local authority which, if well resourced, can ensure that sustainability considerations are well incorporated.

Sub-question 1: How have network arrangements and partnerships been utilised to bring sustainable development forward?

A wide variety of different organisations need to be involved in bringing forward sustainable urban regeneration. The networks and partnerships between these organisations are vital because regeneration projects would be impossible without a consortium of actors from both the public and private spheres. The main organisation, however, that brought forward development in both case studies was a development agency. These organisations that were both set up by the public sector had a major impact on the progress of both projects and their

success is largely down to this type of networking organisation. In Hamburg and Barcelona, the active role of the development agency was to bring different actors together in a way that would ensure the progress and future sustainability of the project.

The development agencies are not a carbon copy of each other and there are many differences but both are site specific, both have been set up by local government rather than national government and both have been well resourced, all of which are key ingredients. The agency in Hamburg has been set up to sell parcels of land to suitable developers. Its network role was to find and attract suitable developer organisations to Hafencity. The Barcelona development agency is an organisation that seeks to give existing landowners and potential developers information about the planning rules and regulations. Both organisations have done much more than this but these elements are their main remit.

It is interesting that in England such structures are less common at least for more regional projects. Projects of national importance are often set up with a development agency in place but this is installed through national government lines and is a mechanism to bypass local authorities that are deemed unable to fulfil this important role. This makes a difference. The importance of the locally created development agencies to move their projects forward was palpable and not having such an organisation unthinkable.

The implementation of locally based development agencies is not an impossible task to achieve in England but once again the obstacles are political rather than procedural. Central government could consider giving more freedom to local authorities to take risks. Without risk there is no reward and at the moment central government does not allow local governments to take financial risks and as such there are no rewards.

Overall, the networks on the continent are built on trust and that trust is severely lacking in the English system. As has been examined development proposals come forward through a network arrangement. It is difficult to develop a regeneration project unilaterally but it is important that that network is built through mutual trust both within the public sector levels and with the private sector. Once again this approach, like with the previous question, relates closely with internal values of the people operating the system. If there is a strong belief in the power of the market and that government should only “interfere” where necessary then a very traditional model of “planning control” will be established. This, however, is unlikely to produce the sustainable urban environments that we are seeking. To achieve this, a change of mindset may be required in which full collaboration between all stakeholders takes place and where the public sector is seen not as a gatekeeper to planning permission but a constant partner throughout the development process who takes active leadership of the process. In other words “positive planning”.

An example of a sustainable approach in England could be the ‘Liverpool One’ project which involved both private and public actors working in partnership. This involved the city authority choosing a development partner (in this case Grosvenor) who then helped to push the project forward both in terms of finance and skills. The project even used CPO powers to acquire land which would normally be very difficult for a local authority to do unilaterally. A number of key ingredients were missing though, such as a development agency and the process remained privately driven to a large degree. This research has shown the importance of development agencies, such as Hafencity Hamburg, in pushing forward development as well as considering that the balance of power might best be held in public hands rather than private ones so as to achieve a more sustainable approach.

Sub-question 2: What type of actors were involved and what were the power relationships between them?

The range of actors involved in the case study projects reflects those normally found in such contexts. This includes developers, architects, development agencies, local authorities, landowners, banks etc. These actors can be separated into two groups either public sector organisations or private ones. The two cases demonstrate the importance of power relationships. Hamburg, through its landownership, has been able to exert considerable influence and power over the whole development process. This is a unique situation because not all local authorities will be able to put themselves in the luxurious position of owning all the land before the regeneration process starts. Indeed, some would argue that to acquire land at the expense of the tax payer is a too risky activity for a local authority to undertake because there is always the possibility that the development proposal could fail to be economically viable and hence create a huge financial loss for the local authority. Despite this, the fact that this approach was used means that Hamburg was able to take control of the phasing of the project, the type of developers chosen, the quality of the architecture and parcelisation of land at the end. Power in Hamburg was, therefore, public.

The process in Barcelona has been completely different. Landownership was not a possibility because of tight financial constraints which meant that the local authority could only influence through a new planning policy framework. This difference is instrumental in setting the two projects apart. Barcelona, with its strong legally based planning system, was still able to have control over the process but not to the same level that has been achieved in Hamburg. In Barcelona, the power has been placed on the private side and this can be seen with a patchy development pattern evolving where some owners have decided to develop and others have resisted.

The English context is often one which is completely different to the two case studies but is closer to that found in Barcelona. In most cases, landownership is private in England and therefore a private development consortium would normally come forward with a proposal for a regeneration project. The fact that the land, financial muscle and skills are all located in the private sector ensures that almost always power is held by the private sector. Despite the confidence placed in the free market in Anglo-Saxon countries, this fact has drawbacks for regeneration processes. The moment the project is presented to the city authority, a form of partnership needs to be entered into but the authority will often find that they are on the substantially weaker side of this new partnership. As negotiations continue, the private sector has the ability to manoeuvre itself in its own self interest. This may be in the form of an appeal or pushing through the development despite local authority concerns. The English planning system, with its shades of grey, can not provide the strong policy protection that is evident in Barcelona, so the overall result is one in which the private sector dominates.

The domination of the private sector means that development processes in England are controlled and brought forward by organisations which are primarily focused on the levels of profit that are available and they will make decisions to ensure that profit levels are maximised. This might not be in the wider public interest because profit maximisation is difficult to align with the public amenity. Visions are likely to be short term and long term goals that coincide with sustainability sidelined.

This research has shown that a public framework for development is vital because it provides the necessary long term vision and therefore ensures sustainable objectives but for this to happen internal values need to change. It could be argued that the public sector can deliver projects, that it has the skills required and that it has the knowledge of markets to negotiate with developers. In other words, both real and perceived power could return to local authorities so that they can deliver rather than just steer development.

Sub-question 3: What can be learnt from the development processes used abroad to create sustainable urban development and how can they be applied, if at all, in England?

As highlighted in the methodology, there are a number of ways in which cross national research can occur (Masser, 1986). In some cases, it will be possible to suggest exact policy transfer but this is unlikely in most cases because of the wide variety of economic, social and political contexts that will make this type of approach impossible. Other methods of applying research are through an adaptation of the policy approach in one country to the context of the importing country. This may be more of a possibility than the first option because national contexts can differ considerably. Another way of applying international research, is as a learning process where the research allows us to see an alternative and learn lessons. In this case, the second and third options are the most appropriate and it will either be adapted policy or learning that will be of most benefit.

From the English perspective, there is a lot to be learnt from the two case study examples presented in this research which help to move forward the debate about sustainable development processes. The development processes in both cases have some similarities to the approach taken in England but at the same time considerable differences. These issues have been highlighted throughout the case study sections but it is worth highlighting a number of the key elements from this research that are of specific interest to those considering how and what type of changes to development processes in England ought to be implemented.

England is well known for its planning system. It is a system that is flexible and transparent but at the same time can leave local authorities open to challenge which can undermine their

ability to deliver projects. On the continent, the planning systems are based in law which means that there is a much bigger rule book and all actors know where they stand more decisively. Change in this area is likely to be difficult because the English planning system is embedded in a cultural context in which flexibility is seen as an important attribute and this is unlikely to change quickly.

Related to this, is the fact that city authorities are generally more powerful than those in England. This is especially the case in Spain and Germany where there are autonomous regions. Making local government more powerful with the ability to make its own decisions is worth considering in England especially as it has been included in the recent Labour manifesto but even if this were possible, planning in a strategic sense would probably remain controlled centrally.

The possible introduction of locally created development agencies is another governance issue. This could be a possibility because there are no limitations to implementing this. It would be preferable, if this agency were set up locally and connected to the existing local authority rather than seen as an aggressive move from central government to take away local power. These local and site specific development agencies would bring a level of certainty to the regeneration process because it would be an indication of intent by local politicians and would help to gain private sector trust in the project.

Another important element or difference between the continent and English approaches to regeneration is the issue of landownership and power relations in the process. Although Barcelona needed to shape its process through planning powers it is quite common on the continent for the local authority to acquire the land and use a similar approach to that used in Hamburg. This has a number of advantages and it would be interesting to see if this could be achieved by a local authority in England without interference from central government. The

arguments against the introduction of this would be connected with issues such as risk to tax payer's money and the general cost of CPO processes as well as doubts about whether any local authority would have the skills to undertake such an enterprising manoeuvre (Adams & Tiesdell, 2013). In addition to this it could be argued that the system of public-private consortiums that are the normal vehicle for large scale urban regeneration projects are sufficient and don't need to be changed but these consortiums always need to agree to a consensus and because power is normally held by the private sector, private sector concerns are at the forefront of thinking.

If the above were possible, forcing parcelisation of land could be an appropriate way to get better results in England. Parcelisation of land after it has been brought under single ownership would ensure the type of diversity both physically and socially that is often missing from regeneration projects in England. This system would allow a variety of developers of different sizes to enter the process and in doing so would ensure that a more unique product which could promote distinctive construction techniques.

One of the most important lessons from the case studies is the issue of long term commitment to the project. It is here where the key to sustainability lies. The continental case studies both had a strong commitment to the long term aspects of the project. They set up organisations that were specifically created for dealing with issues connected to the projects. They put people in place that could deal with these issues and importantly installed a leader or champion to create both continuity but also to give the projects more visibility.

All of these lessons are important but they fail to capture the wider level changes that would need to take place to ensure that sustainable development becomes more visible in the English context. This wider implication is a change to the general approach to economic philosophy in England and the belief that the private market has all the answers to our

questions and challenges. It has only been quite recently that our approach to this issue has changed and it was during the Thatcher years when the majority of this change happened. The emphasis that was placed on the private market by the Thatcher government changed England dramatically but it also changed the general political philosophy of the country to one which was more closely connected to the ideals of the US. Previously to this England was more closely connected with ideas of socialism and government intervention in private markets.

While it is impossible to turn back time, it is important to highlight that in the context of delivering large scale urban regeneration projects it could be suggested that a different economic philosophy is required. One which does not assume that the private market knows best and instead manages the processes of development directly and specifically brings forward development through public delivery mechanisms. A system is required that balances public and private interests and gets the best out of both, favours quality and sustainability over short term profit, allows a wide variety of different developers both big and small to participate and ensures that any uplift in land value is pumped back into the project.

If our aim is to produce sustainable development more widely in England these are the key issues that might be considered. They are core issues rather than peripheral issues and, as such, all the more difficult to change but the change would be worthwhile not only for the improved urbanism but because sustainable environments are also economically beneficial for the wider economy as a whole. Both Hamburg and Barcelona may not be the most sustainable projects per se but they do teach us a lot about the processes that other countries employ when bringing projects forward and these lessons are important because they can show us how to think differently about development processes and how English processes can be changed to ensure better outcomes.

CHAPTER 10 - CONCLUSION

10.1 Objectives

This research has sought to look at the specifics of development processes associated with large scale sustainable regeneration projects in different countries and decipher what ingredients are necessary to achieve comprehensive sustainable development in England. While England has been quick to support the ideas of sustainable urban regeneration there are still questions regarding whether the right development process model has been used to achieve this aim. Falk (2010) suggests that while England has been producing plans and visions, the rest of Europe has been busy creating sustainable places. This is a key point because not only does it emphasise the differences in approach between England and the two case studies in Spain and Germany, it also places the emphasis, not on creating the most comprehensive plans, but on the actual on the ground results.

This research has been structured using 10 chapters. The first chapter set the scene for the project. The second chapter provided an overview of sustainable urban development and how this fits into the English planning system. The third chapter looked into the theory of development processes and the fourth chapter addressed the issue of governance, power relations, networks and partnerships. The methodology chapter (chapter 5) highlighted the research gap and the analytical framework which was to be used to move the project forward. Chapters 6,7 and 8 were the case study chapters that consider specific examples of sustainable urban regeneration on the Continent as well as standard practice in England. The final two chapters bring together the findings of the research, with the conclusion drawing out lessons about how the delivery of large scale sustainable urban regeneration projects in England could be improved.

10.2 Key Findings

This chapter will highlight the findings from this research as well as put forward suggestions as to the key ingredients that need to be considered to ensure that England creates more on the ground sustainable development.

Institutional / Governance Change

The issue of governance is worth mentioning because it remains an all important consideration with regard to delivering sustainable urban regeneration. It has been seen that the institutional arrangements that exist in Germany, Spain and England are considerably different (Newman & Thornley, 1996). In England, the traditional Anglo-Saxon approach of a strong belief in the power and wisdom of the market ensures that government leadership in regeneration projects is kept to a minimum and the private sector takes the leading role. Yet there are many reasons why this approach may not be the most suitable for urban regeneration and the examples that have been explored in this research give us further evidence that this is the case.

In continental Europe, the hierarchical approach (Adams & Tiesdell, 2013) to urban regeneration is still the dominant model in which regeneration is delivered. Government agencies take projects forward and are the lead actors in the process. They ensure that the public sector is the driver and this has a number of substantial benefits. By placing the public sector in this role it is possible to have a much stronger control over the development process than otherwise would be the case (Cheshire, 2009; Oxley et al, 2009) If the process is given over to the market then large private sector developers will normally take control and immediately look for economies of scale and risk reduction strategies which will normally involve reducing the number of actors and as such producing a more mundane and monotone end result.

Public sector leadership could be considered desirable but this is not necessarily easy to implement in England. The contextual issues of weak local authorities, a discretionary planning system, low levels of trust in the public sector and doubts about skills mean that there are substantial barriers to this approach in England. None the less, it is an approach that is worth exploring because there are very few other ways in which to ensure that a development is brought forward sustainably.

Key tools that would be worth considering would be the creation of local development agencies that would need to be set up locally and be locally accountable. There are a number of benefits to creating such organisations because they often can bring in new skills that are essential to directing a regeneration project of a certain scale but at the same time the very fact that a development agency has been created gives confidence to the private sector that real change will be happening and therefore promotes inward investment which is absolutely vital for any development project.

It would also be worth considering giving local authorities more power and autonomy from central government to promote their own visions while being backed up with real measures so as to ensure that local authorities can create a new role for themselves that is different to the perceptions of the past.

This approach would set the foundations for a new way in which urban regeneration is brought forward in England. It would set out the framework which would reduce risk for the private sector and at the same time promote trust and a mutual respect. It would support the idea that regeneration is a joint project between public and private sectors but that the public sector is the lead actor because this is the only way in which to control and limit private sector forces which are not beneficial in creating sustainable urban environments.

Controlling the market

If the governance approaches set out above were implemented, a new dynamic between the public and private sectors would be established. This new dynamic would allow specific types of planning approach to be taken forward that were not previously possible. This would include bringing forward plans whose emphasis would not be to influence the market but to shape it. Traditionally, plans in England have been created to encourage developer interest in an area or to show the general layout of the urban fabric but these plans are mostly guidance, they can always be altered by the proposals of the private sector because this is where power has traditionally been held in the English development process.

If the public sector became the lead partner, the plans produced would become a framework for action. The plan would be seen as “the ways things will be done”. This would allow local authorities to become much more proactive in their planning role (Oxley et al, 2009). They could create visions rather than being reactive to the private market. They could become place makers rather than plan producers (Adams & Tiesdell, 2013).

The more intricate details of the development process also change when the public sector is the lead partner. Urban land is often in multiple ownership and this can be a serious barrier to any project coming forward. If the public sector is the lead partner it is possible to use a variety of tools to ensure that the project can move forward more smoothly as well as creating a sustainable outcome. The first is land acquisition which can be achieved through CPO processes, if this is possible then parcelisation can be the next step and finally the plots can be sold to the private sector. This approach allows the authority to have a very tight control over the quality of the development coming forward. It is possible to sell plots of land to very specific developers in a very organised and sequential manner ensuring that the development is built out in phases rather than sporadically. This approach also means that

developers can engage in the process with a reduced level of risk which thereby allows are greater variety of developers to get involved.

Sustainable urban regeneration should consider all of these aspects. Creating an urban environment of any value is a complex process and requires careful management by public sector forces rather than private ones. Private forces tend to prefer short cuts which will improve short term gains and scales of economy. Private forces are much less enthusiastic about long term goals because they can not see the benefits. The problem with this is that long term benefits are the secret to sustainable environments.

One of the main concerns for developers working in England is the amount of risk they are exposed to. As such they are trying to reduce their risk all the time. This is a natural reaction. It has been shown that as developers get larger and more established they are even more risk adverse (Calcutt, 2007). Considering the fact that most housing in England is built by one of the big 10 housebuilders (Calcutt, 2007), it is possible to see that a large risk adverse building industry is in place. This risk adversity means that developers produce products that are safe, conventional, uniform and monotone. This is not how sustainable environments are built. Large scale developers that develop large sites are not acting sustainably, they are acting in their own financial interest. Their aim is not the quality or the sustainability of the end result, it is the short term financial gain of the project. This is why it might be worth changing the development processes of sustainable urban regeneration in England and why continental Europe is so far ahead in this regard.

Public sector leadership would remove this issue of risk adversity because it would be possible to allow developers to enter the process at a much later stage than is normally the case if the private sector were in control. By selling land through parcelisation, developers would only need to deal with a minimal level of risk because the project they would develop

is already set within the framework of the planning vision. This would allow larger developers to produce more interesting products as well as letting smaller developers also participate.

The issue of infrastructure provision is also solved through this approach. Most developments in England start without the correct level of infrastructure investment because this is a cost which is difficult to bear for either the public or private sectors. Instead, infrastructure is provided in an ad hoc manner through section 106 agreements or planning gain and is implemented at the end of the process when lifestyles and patterns of behaviour have already been established (Adams & Tiesdell, 2013). If the public sector take the lead role this difficulty is removed by investing in the site but then recouping the investment value through selling of the serviced plots.

As suggested in the first section, these tools would establish a new development process in England that would promote trust and reduce risk and achieve the overall aim of a partnership between public and private sector interests. It is when these forces are balanced in this way that a more sustainable solution is possible.

Enhancing Skills

For this type of approach to work the public sector would need to acquire more skills (Adams & Tiesdell, 2013). At the moment the public sector in England is characterised as having a reactive approach to development proposals. For the public sector to take the lead role in regeneration projects there would need to be a significant overhaul with regard to the perceptions and skills of local authority planners.

As suggested earlier, local authority planners would need to become place makers rather than plan makers. The emphasis would have to move from plan creation to delivery and this would imply significant changes to skill sets. In particular, it would be necessary for planners

to understand more about general development economics as well as having an appreciation that the plans that they create have an impact on development markets. They would need to understand the requirement to become genuine market actors rather than market influencers. This new knowledge of development markets would help in a number of ways because it would not only allow planners to scrutinise developer proposals more carefully, it would also promote mutual respect and trust that is often so severely missing in many cases.

This new role for planners would create a true partnership approach which is key to creating sustainable environments. It is important to remember that these environments can hardly ever be created unilaterally and there needs to be considerable interaction between public and private actors for sustainable urban regeneration to come forward. Partnerships and networks are intrinsic to the way in which development is brought forward but it is important to ensure that power is placed in the right locations. By placing power in the private sector the English approach to urban regeneration has been hindered and projects have been difficult to deliver.

This change of approach for planners, however, is not an easy transition. All professions see the world through their own particular lens and planners are no different. The education system for planning needs to recognise the importance of development economics as one of the main tools to negotiate with developers. Planners need to have in-depth knowledge of this subject in order to “compete” with savvy developers. There also needs to be a change in mind set from one of an administrative role to a proactive position which emphasises the planner as a key player bringing together the spectrum of actors on an even platform.

Contributions

The contributions of this research can be organised in two sections, firstly, academic contributions and secondly, contributions to the policy debate.

Academic contribution

The area of sustainable development processes has not been studied as widely as other areas in planning as such there remains considerable scope to add further knowledge in this area. Adams & Tiesdell (2013) and Hall (2014) as well as Ball (1983) have been those that have addressed the subject more specifically and in more detail in academic circles. The unique approach of this research is the way in which it brings together the theoretical elements of governance, networks and power relationships and uses them to consider the development processes of sustainable urban regeneration projects in three different countries.

While Adams & Tiesdell (2013) refer to projects in different countries they do not explore them in detail and neither do they apply the same theoretical framework to their research. Hall (2014) is close to this work because it looks at specific sustainable urban regeneration projects on the continent and draws many similar conclusions but does not suggest how these lessons might be applied in England or provide the theoretical background associated with this subject.

This research therefore brings forward information and knowledge about important case studies in Spain and Germany that allows more insight into the development processes behind large scale projects on the Continent and how these processes are different to the ones in England and it is with this knowledge that new approaches can be formulated in England to achieve better results.

Policy contribution

Other than the academic debate, it is also important to consider the wider findings of the research and how these could possibly influence policy in England. As has been suggested earlier it is unlikely that any policy approach in the case studies could be applied directly in England and an approach of learning is probably more suitable.

On a wider level the research suggests that development processes of urban regeneration projects may not be best suited to systems that are dominated by the private market. The case studies show that in both cases there is a strong emphasis on the importance of the public sector to manage the development and in doing so achieve a more sustainable outcome. As such it could be interesting to consider how English development processes could be pushed towards a system which places more power (both real and perceived) in public hands.

If this first, and most important of steps, could be achieved then issues such as CPO processes and local development agencies could also be considered, therefore building up an array of policy approaches that would enhance the long term aspirations and remove the short term ones and ultimately support the idea of sustainable urban development.

Theoretical contribution

This research has been based on an analytical framework that was developed and drawn from an approach established by Coaffee & Healey (2003). Not all the elements of the Coaffee and Healey framework could be used, so a more specific framework was established that focused more directly on power, networks and partnerships. The theoretical contribution of this research has therefore been the adaptation of the original work by Coaffee & Healey to a cross national research project and as such has provided the necessary structure on which to base this research so as to gain an understanding about the

power dynamics between public and private actors in the sphere of sustainable urban regeneration.

Criticisms

Critics of this research could argue that the approach of placing the public sector in a stronger position is not possible in England. It could be argued that England engaged with this approach during the 1960s and this produced a lot of modernist architecture that has since been recognised, other than a few specific examples, as ugly and depressing. It could be argued that the processes that are used in England at the moment are working and that local authorities do not need to be the lead partners because they can create development consortiums if required. It might also be argued that full landownership of sites is very difficult because of the financial issues connected to CPO procedures. It might also be suggested that creating local development agencies is difficult because local authorities do not have the resources to do so.

All of these arguments do not take away from the fact that there is a pressing need to get urban regeneration working better in England. There is a need to ensure that the developments that are brought forward are sustainable and that they have been completed by a variety of developers who have an interest in sustainability and innovation. At the moment this is not happening in England because of the way in which development processes skew power towards the private sector. The private sector will more often than not be interested in the short term results and this is not compatible with sustainability.

In the end, these proposals could be considered difficult to implement for a variety of reasons but it is worth reflecting on them carefully. Development, after all, is inherently connected with the economic growth of cities and therefore a nation. The importance of creating sustainable developments that can bring long term economic growth and value is vital. Since

the 2008 economic crisis England has gone through an era of austerity which has had considerable impact on the built environment sector. This, together with a growing call for more positive planning (Farrell, 2014), may be the ideal moment to reconsider both the politics and the mechanics of urban development in England.

Limitations

The research limitations for this project include the analysis of issues such as the impact of the economic crisis as well as the influence of the more recent planning policy changes on the findings.

With regard to the economic crisis the most obvious impact is the viability of projects and the increasing difficulty in getting projects off the ground. The crisis may, however, present an opportunity for development processes to be reconsidered and reengineered to achieve new and better outcomes. The public management of regeneration projects is not necessarily influenced by the issue of the crisis as the case study example of Hamburg shows.

As a project that was organised and carried out by a single individual there are inevitably some other more practical limitations to the research. While the literature review was manageable, the primary research was more demanding because of issues of location and cost of travelling to and staying in those locations. Interviews had to be limited to 20 in each location but more insight would have been possible if this could have been expanded.

Equally, the number of case studies had to be limited because any more than 3 would have been very demanding both in terms of time and resources. In the end, a qualitative approach was taken with the three case studies chosen but this could have been expanded if more time and resources had been available.

Further Research

More research into sustainable development processes could be beneficial in order to discover how such policy suggestions could be implemented in England. As with any change in direction, substantial resistance could be encountered in making such changes. Conservative policies of the 1980s have taken England away from the idea of substantial government intervention and local authorities have never regained the powers that they had before that time. The economic crisis, however, may provide the opportunity to reconsider the assumptions we have about the intelligence of the market.

More specifically, this research might include a focus on whether it would at all be possible for a country based on neo-liberal policies to become engaged with ideas about public sector delivery and the benefits that can be drawn from this approach and if this were possible what would need to change in terms of the dynamics of political power between national and local government to really take advantage of such an approach.

In addition to this, it would also be important to understand the exact type of organisations that would need to be put in place including more specifically the type of development agencies that would need to be set up and how these could be established without the need for national government intervention. What status would these organisations have? Would they be able to acquire land unilaterally? Could they undertake land assembly processes? All these questions would need to be answered.

The issue of skills would also be a key area of research so as to gain an understanding of the level of skills that are currently found in local authorities and whether these skills would be sufficient to deliver large scale projects. The current perception is that skills are lacking and as such local authorities are not equipped to deal with these issues. If this were found to be the case there would be a strong argument for further research into how the skills that are

so desperately lacking in local planning departments could be acquired by both existing and future planners.

Other questions that could be explored in more detail would be connected to the idea of parcelisation of land and the exact benefits of such an approach. Do smaller plots really provide more diversity and a more interesting urban landscape? Does parcelisation really allow smaller developers to become involved in large scale redevelopment projects and as such could this approach potentially break the monopoly so strongly held by the large scale developers based in the UK?

Finally, there might also be scope to reconsider the nature of the English planning system and its adherence to a discretionary approach. Further research could delve into the idea of making the English planning system more transparent and more certain. Certainty in the planning system would reduce risk for developers who often state that risk in the current system is one of their main concerns. Reducing risk could potentially increase profit margins and hence increase the ability for developers to address sustainability issues more comprehensively. Planning could also be reconsidered in a different light and seen as a positive force for change rather than the negative way in which it is often portrayed in the media. Further research could involve a comprehensive review about what a 'Positive Planning' approach could bring to development issues in England and how much such an approach would improve the quality and the sustainability of the urban environment in England.

APPENDIX 1

General topic guide for interviews

Topic Guide 1 – National context

The social/cultural/economic

- What are the development issues in the country? Is development focused towards cities? Brownfield land? Are greenfield developments permitted?
- What is the relationship between development and environmental protection?
- What is the economic situation and the impact of the crisis? What is the situation at the moment for the development industry in your country?
- What is the culture towards property? Do most people rent or buy? Is property seen as a good investment?
- What is the political situation in the country and how does that affect development issues? What are the main political parties and how do they influence development issues?
- Where is power located? Central, regional or local

The planning system

- What type of planning system operates in the country? Legal or Administrative
- What is the approach towards economic development?
- What is the approach towards environmental issues?
- Where is planning power held? Central, regional or local? What is the relationship between these different tiers?

Topic Guide 2 – Sustainable urban regeneration

The location and size of the development

- How many people live on the site?
- Who are the main investors?
- What is the density of the development?
- Will there be a mixture of land uses?
- What type of transport infrastructure will be provided?
- What is the history of the site?
- What is innovative about the development?
- What are the strength and weaknesses in terms of sustainability?

Topic Guide 3 – Development process

Actors (General)

- How was the process started?

- Who started the process?
- Which organisations or individuals were key in starting the process?
- What actors were involved in the process?
- What organisations were created?
- What type of actors were involved and what was their approach to sustainable urban development?
- What was the relationship like between the actors?
- Was there one key actor with more power?
- Was there a key decision maker?
- What were the assets of each stakeholder?
- Who was the landowner? Was there more than one?
- Who led and managed the project?
- How was the project financed?
- Was viability easy to achieve?
- How were community groups involved?

Topic guide 4 – Governance and policy background

Governance philosophy

- What type of approach does the local authority have towards economic development? Is there a clear preference for economic development?
- How would you describe the approach and financial situation of the LA?
- Does the LA take a proactive approach to development or a more reactive approach taken?
- Is the approach towards the local community one of service provision or more as an enabler?
- Does the local authority use a partnership approach for projects such as these? If so how are these partnerships organised?
- Does the LA own the land for the project?
- Who was your main contact on this project?
- How many contact points did the LA have?
- Does the LA have close links to the local development industry?
- Did the LA have control over the project?
- Who took the project management role for the project?

Policy approach towards sustainability

- What is the approach of the local authority towards sustainable development?
- Is there any difference between this approach and that suggested by national government?

APPENDIX 2

An example of how interviews were coded using WEFT QDA software, in this case focusing on the social/cultural/economic/political context

The method used with the WEFT QDA software was to input all the transcribed interviews into the system. After this a number of key topic issues were identified in connection with the analytical framework and these were the topics with which the interviews were analysed. Once all the interviews had been coded it was easier to access key quotes from the interviewees.

Barcelona Interview 01

So this is an inner city area which was previously industrial land containing many different industrial companies and was called the Catalan Manchester. Slowly these industries started to fail and were replaced by workshops and transportation companies. When the 22@ project started in 2000 there were also about 10,000 people were living there and 6000 companies. The reason they started in 2000 was connected with the Olympics but it was also connected with the history of Spain in general and Franco period which had limited the voice of local people in Barcelona and the only outlets were football and local community groups. That is the reason why when Franco died the local activism was extremely strong and well organised in Barcelona. So what happened? Well there was a lot of potential but no money so there was a lot of small improvements with public space. That was the first thing that they did. I think that nearly all the Olympic projects are failures most of the time but in the case of Barcelona the project was successful because it was just based on a previous ideas of regeneration.

Barcelona Interview 01

So now they had done the Olympics and they wanted to continue with the progress and so they looked around the city and they found Poblenou which is located very close to the Olympic village. They thought "we have all this land" and then they started to think about knowledge industries so they did lots of studies about other science parks and knowledge centres like Silicon Valley. So they came back with recommendations to focus the area towards the knowledge economy but of course the land was designated as industrial land so they needed to change the designation of the land which they did when they started the project in 2000.

Barcelona Interview 02

The development of this area is also quite different to the rest of Barcelona because most of Barcelona keeps to the Cerda plan whereas here the heights of the builds change quite a lot but they do still keep to the grid layout of which was in place historically.

Barcelona Interview 03

I think the approach was very intelligent because essentially Poblenou was an inner city area that was rundown and needed regeneration. So I think it was

definitely the right approach to have.

Barcelona Interview 03

On the other hand you have the people who live in the area many of whom think that the project is essentially a real estate project, that the economic innovation was only of secondary importance and there is not anything of interest for them. This of course created some damage for the project because people did not feel that they were part of the project. In the end Poblenou grew more than 100% but the people who live there never felt that it was their project and never really understood the project which is a real shame.

Barcelona Interview 03

At the start of the process when 22@ was starting it helped to create an economic focus in Barcelona which had for a long time being missing and had instead been flowing towards Madrid. 22@ was a good approach to give something back to Barcelona and I think it will continue to be so. I think the future will depend on the private sector.

Barcelona Interview 06

Well in the centre of Barcelona there is quite a lot of older buildings that might be quite nice to look at from the outside but inside are a little dated and do not fit the requirements of many modern businesses. Vodafone is a good example of this, it was located on Diagonal but it moved to 22@ because it found space there that was cheaper and better. That is a pattern that we have found and it has happened with other large companies as well. You have to remember that Barcelona is a small city it is only 10km by 10km so it is not like London for example. So everything competes with everything.

Barcelona Interview 07

First of all it is important to say that obviously the 22@ area was predominantly an industrial area and the people who lived here in Barcelona and knew the area did not believe in the project because there has always been the perception that the city had turned its back on the sea and that all the areas close to the sea were not of interest, to the developers that were located in Barcelona. It was for that reason that much of the coastal area was developed by developers that came from outside the city and that was particularly the case with the Hines development and most of the Olympic village as well.

Barcelona Interview 09

As you know this area was called the Catalan Manchester. So it was an industrial area that started to deteriorate and more and more warehouses started to appear together with transport companies. There were also about 4000 dwellings in the area which were neither legal or illegal. For most of this time most of the high tech companies were being located outside the city but after a while the city realised that they had a large area of industrial land in the centre of Barcelona and this land could be converted into a location for high

tech companies. This was the point was when 22@ was created which used the old designation of 22a and adapted it into 22@ to represent the high tech nature of the knowledge sectors that were supposed to come to the area. So now we are in a situation where we have had the 22@ project for more than 10 years.

Barcelona Interview 11

For the past 22 years there has been a socialist government in the city council but that recently changed and now we have a national/PP government. We still don't know where we are going at the moment but we can assume that this will involve the private sector more.

Barcelona Interview 12

The four main elements of success are the following. The first is the physical aspect of the project which includes the management of the planning process which includes buildings and infrastructure. The second element is the economic vision for the city neighbourhood where you need to think about what types of companies need to be attracted. Of course you can create a business park but when you do that there are not clusters and there are no synergies so it does not work very well, or at least not in an optimal way. In most cases this is not thought about enough. There are lots of places that think they have an idea about what type of businesses they can attract but often it is just hot air. The third element is about an innovative ecosystems.

Barcelona Interview 14

Of course there has been a recent change in government as well which is now a conservative government rather than a socialist one which we had for 25 years. So they work with these 5 pillars and they going to add another one but in the end they changed the structure of the 22@ project because they are now focusing on the city as a whole rather than just 22@.

Barcelona Interview 16

Q. Could you give me your view of the 22@ project?

A. The best is to give a little background info. As you know this area was an industrial area. In the 1970s the area went into decline. So you had a lot of space that was not used and then the area transformed into an area for warehouses and transport companies. So there was general decline in the area. Things started to change in 1992 when the Olympics came along and they built the ring road close to the sea and other key infrastructure. The of course came the plan of 22@ which came in 2000 which had the focus on the new economy and knowledge industries.

Barcelona Interview 17

Q. Can you tell me about the process for 22@?

A. I have been to that area lots of different times and it has changed completely. I can remember getting there 15 years ago and it was very difficult to access and there were not any pavements. Another time I went there I can remember the whole area being full of warehouses and transport companies. So I think it was clear that this area needed to change and it was clear from the form of Barcelona that if the city was going to grow it would need to regenerate these types of areas because Barcelona cannot grow in any other way because of the sea and the mountains.

Hamburg Interview 02

Q. Would you agree that Hamburg is a wealthy city?

A. Yes on the private side there is a lot of money and many millionaires but on the public side there is considerable debt.

Hamburg Interview 02

Q. Could you give me an overview of the approach to property in Germany?

A. Well, I think that most people here in Germany do rent but they rent because they would find it very difficult to buy. Of course I think the building quality here in Germany is generally quite high so that is a reason why the housing is so expensive.

Hamburg Interview 06

Q. It is always interesting to come to Germany because your approach to property is slightly different.

A. Well it all depends on the situation. People in Germany often choose to rent because it is cheaper to do so than buy a property and pay high costs in terms of interest rates. So it all depends. Of course there are also lots of costs associated with buying a flat as well for example taxes and costs connected with the estate agent. In addition to that there are benefits through renting because it allows you to change your location easily and if you change your job you can relocate easily as well which is good.

UK Interview 01

Q. Do you think autonomous regions would be better in the UK?

A. I think it really depends because if you devolve power you will get some authorities that do very well and other that do very badly. So some authorities may get left behind for a number of reasons.

UK Interview 05

Q. Are the right tools being used to create large scale urban regeneration?

A. I think it varies. There is a time dimension. At the moment of course we are in a recession so it is very difficult to private investment. One thing we have learned over time is that no one tool can solve all problems. All problems are unique and they need to be resolved in that way as well. You have to be place specific. Some of that is institutions, culture or ownerships but it is certainly not a generic one approach fits all situation. That of course can be problem when governments role out different programmes and they seem to be looking for a single solution to many problems and it does not seem to work that way.

APPENDIX 3

Role of key interviewees

Germany	Role
Academic 1	An urban planning academic from one of the main universities in Hamburg
Academic 2	An urban planning academic from one of the main universities in Hamburg
Architect 1	An architect with their offices located within the Hafencity
Community Group 1	A representative from a community group in Hafencity
Community Group 2	A representative from a community group in Hafencity
Property Developer 1	A commercial developer in Hafencity
Property Developer 2	A mixed use developer in Hafencity
Property Developer 3	A mixed use developer in Hafencity
Property Developer 4	A commercial developer in Hafencity
Development Agency	A representative from the main development agency for the site
Development Agency Social	A representative from the main development agency dealing with social issues
Estate Agent 1	Private estate agent in Hafencity area
Estate Agent 2	Private estate agent in Hafencity area
Local Authority Energy	An officer in the Hamburg city authority dealing with Energy
Local Authority Strategy	An officer in the Hamburg city authority dealing with Strategy
Local Government Planner	An officer in the Hamburg city authority dealing with planning
Local School	School representative of the school located in Hafencity
Museum	Representative from one of the museums located in Hafencity
On-site Hotel	Representative from a hotel located in Hafencity
Sports Club	Representative from the local sports club in Hafencity
Spain	Role
22@ Network	A representative from 22@ Network which promotes joint working in the area
22@ BarcelonActiva	A representative from the incubator located in 22@
Academic 1	An academic from one of the main universities in Barcelona
Academic 2	An academic from one of the main universities in Barcelona
Academic 3	An academic from one of the main universities in Barcelona
Academic Researcher	An academic researcher from one of the main universities in Barcelona
Architect 1	An architect involved with developments on the 22@ site
Architect 2	An architect involved with developments on the 22@ site
Architect 3	An architect involved with developments on the 22@ site
Artist Collective	A representative from an artists collective located within 22@
BarcelonActiva	A representative from management section of BarcelonActiva
Barcelona 22@ S.L.	A representative from the development agency in 22@

Infrastructure Officer	Officer for infrastructure in the development agency
Property Developer 1	A developer connected with an number of different developments within 22@
Property Developer 2	A representative from a social housing developer
Governance Consultant	A consultant who was involved in the governance of 22@ area
Historic Environment Interest group	A representative from the historic environment interest group in 22@
Property Agent	An international property agent specialising in the commercial market in 22@
Residents Association 1	A representative from the Poblenou residents group
Technical Architects Association	A representative from the technical architects association in Barcelona

England	Role
Academic 1	An urban planning academic from Glasgow University
Academic 2	An urban planning academic from UCL
Architect 1	An architect involved in Liverpool One
Commercial Developer	A large scale missed use developer involved with large scale regeneration projects mainly in London
Design Quango	A representative from a nationwide design quango that advises public and private organisations
Property Developer 1	A developer involved in innovative urban regeneration schemes throughout England
Property Developer 2	A developer involved with many projects in the midlands
Development Agency Consultant	An independent consultant with extensive experience in connection with development agencies in England
Economic Consultant 1	A representative from a English based economic think tank about cities
Planning Consultant 1	A planning consultant working for a large scale practice in London
Local Authority Officer 1	A representative from a London local authority
Local Authority Officer 2	A representative from a London local authority
Local Authority Officer 3	A representative from a city authority in the north of England
Local Authority Officer 4	A representative from a city authority in the midlands
Professional Body 1	A representative from a body connected with planners in England
Professional Body 2	A representative from a body connected with surveyors in England
Property Consultant	A property consultant based in London
Urban Design Consultant 1	An architect involved in masterplanning in England and worldwide
Urban Regeneration Specialist	A specialist in urban regeneration issues in England
Urbanism Specialist	A urbanism specialist in England

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